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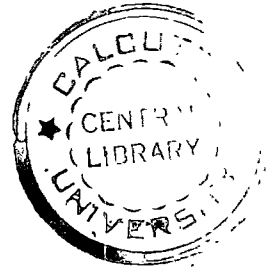
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## I. AUTHORS

*Book reviews as well as articles are included under this heading.*

- Adams, Raymond. "Research in Progress," 66-69, 168-170, 266-268, 417-422.
- Bailey, J. O. "Poe's 'Palaeatine,'" 44-58.
- Bellamy, Gladys Carmen. "Mark Twain's Indebtedness to John Phoenix," 28-43.
- Blackburn, Clara. "Continental Influences on Eugene O'Neill's Expressionistic Dramas," 109-133.
- Blair, Walter. Review: Hemminghaus, *Mark Twain in Germany*, 87.
- Bradley, Sculley. Reviews: Wells, *New Poets from Old: A Study in Literary Genetics*, 76-78; Lawson, *Dunbar Critically Examined*, 283-284.
- Brewster, Paul G. "Jurgen and Figures of Earth and the Russian Skazki," 305-319.
- Brown, Herbert. Reviews: Raddin, *An Early New York Library of Fiction: With a Checklist of the Fiction in H. Caritat's Circulating Library, No. 1 City Hotel, Broadway, New York, 1804, 181-182*; Black, *The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Descriptive and Bibliographical Study*, 182-183.
- Cassady, Edward E. "Muckraking in the Gilded Age," 134-141.
- Charvat, William. "Prescott's Political and Social Attitudes," 320-330.
- Coad, Oral Sumner. Review: McGlinchey, *The First Decade of the Boston Museum, 180-181*.
- Cowie, Alexander. Review: Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 171-173.
- Crawford, Bartholow V. Review: Maynadier, *The First American Novelist*, 76.
- Duffy, Charles. "'Scenes of My Childhood,'" 167; "Thomas Campbell and America," 346-355.
- Ferguson, DeLancey. Review: Boynton, *America in Contemporary Fiction*, 79.
- Firebaugh, Joseph J. "Samuel Rogers and American Men of Letters," 331-345.
- Flanagan, John T. "Dr. Holmes Advises Young Ignatius Donnelly," 59-61.
- Furness, Clifton Joseph. Review: Winwar, *American Giant: Walt Whitman and His Times*, 423-432.
- Gohdes, Clarence. "British Interest in American Literature during the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century as Reflected by Mudie's Select Library," 356-362. The reviews signed C. G. are by Mr. Gohdes.
- Gudde, Erwin G. "An American Version of *Munchausen*," 372-390.
- Hornberger, Theodore. Review: Johnson, *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Bibliography*, 179-180.
- Houtchens, Lawrence H. "Charles Dickens and International Copyright," 18-28.
- Hubbell, Jay B. Review: Bateson (ed.), *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, 183-185*. The unsigned reviews are by Mr. Hubbell.
- Kent, Sherman. "Russian Christmas Before the Mast," 395-398.
- Kouwenhoven, John A. "Cooper and the American Copyright Club: An Unpublished Letter," 265. Review: Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, 84-86.
- Leary, Lewis. Review: Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution*, 441-442.
- Leisy, Ernest E. "Mark Twain and Isaiah Sellers," 398-405. Review: Parks, *Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree)*, 275.
- Lloyd, Francis V., Jr. "Melville's First Lectures," 391-395.
- Lokensgard, Hjalmar O. "Holmes Quizzes the Professors," 157-162.
- Lorch, Fred W. Review: Clemens (ed.), *Republican Letters*, 439-440.
- McDowell, Tremaine. Review: Boas (ed.), *Romanticism in America*, 81-82.
- Millett, Fred B. Review: Luccock, *American Mirror: Social, Ethical and Religious Aspects of American Literature, 1930-1940*, 277-279.
- Morgan, Jennie A. "Early Reminiscences of Walt Whitman," 9-17; "A Reply," 414-416.

- Nelson, John Herbert. Review: Friederich, *Werden und Wachsen der U. S. A. in 300 Jahren*, 87-88.
- Olson, James C. "Mark Twain and the Department of Agriculture," 408-410.
- Orians, G. Harrison. Reviews: *English Institute Annual—1939*, 284-285; *Essays on the Teaching of English in Honor of Charles Swain Thomas*, 284-285.
- Pacey, W. C. D. "Henry James and His French Contemporaries," 240-256.
- Parks, Edd Winfield. Review: Hubbell (ed.), *The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867: Including Letters of Timrod to Paul Hamilton Hayne and Letters about Timrod by William Gilmore Simms, John R. Thompson, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Others*, 280-282.
- Pochmann, Henry A. Review: DeVoto (ed.), *Mark Twain in Eruption: Hitherto Unpublished Pages about Men and Manners*, 173-176.
- Pound, Louise. "Doubtful Whitman Lore," 411-413.
- Powell, Lawrence Clark. "An Unpublished Mark Twain Letter," 405-407.
- Quinn, Arthur Hobson. Review: Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (Vol. XII), 177-178.
- Richardson, Lyon N. Review: Gettman, *Turgenev in England and America*, 435-436.
- Schantz, B. T. "Motley's 'The Chevalier de Sataniski,'" 155-157.
- Sealts, Merton M. "Herman Melville's 'I and My Chimney,'" 142-154.
- Smith, Henry Nash. Reviews: Blackmur, *The Expense of Greatness*, 79-81; Wynn, *A Critical Study of Mary Hunter Austin (1868-1934)*, 276.
- Spiller, Robert E. Reviews: Brooks, *New England: Indian Summer, 1865-1915*, 70-73; Holmes, *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of His Works*, 75-76; Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression*, 432-435; Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940*; Dowlin (ed.), *The University of Pennsylvania Today*; Addison (ed.), *Portraits in the University of Pennsylvania*, 438-439; Dahlberg, *Do These Bones Live*, 441.
- Stewart, George R. "Bret Harte upon Mark Twain in 1866," 263-264. Reviews: Beach, *American Fiction: 1920-1940*, 269-271; Harrison, *Bret Harte: Representative Selections*, 436-438.
- Stewart, Randall. Reviews: Mather, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Modest Man*, 73-74; Brockway, *Sylvester Judd (1813-1853): Novelist of Transcendentalism*, 272-274.
- Stovall, Floyd. Review: *Index to Early American Periodical Literature, 1728-1870*. No. 3. *Walt Whitman*, 279-280.
- Svendsen, J. Kester. "Anne Bradstreet in England: A Bibliographical Note," 63-65.
- Taft, Kendall B. "'Scenes of My Childhood': A Comment," 410-411.
- Thorpe, Clarence D. Review: Gilbert and Kuhn, *A History of Aesthetics*, 82-84.
- Vincent, H. P. "A Sarah Helen Whitman Letter about Edgar Allan Poe," 162-167.
- Waggoner, Hyatt Howe. "The Humanistic Idealism of Robert Frost," 207-223.
- Walcutt, Charles Child. "Frank Norris on Realism and Naturalism," 61-63.
- Waples, Dorothy. "Suggestions for Interpreting *The Marble Faun*," 224-239.
- Wecker, Dixon. "Mark Twain as Translator from the German," 257-263.
- White, George L., Jr. "H. H. Boyesen: A Note on Immigration," 363-371.
- White, Newman I. Review: Manchester and Shepard (eds.), *Irving Babbitt*, 443.
- Williams, Stanley T. Review: Turner, *Hawthorne as Editor: Selections from His Writings in The American Magazine for Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, 271-272.
- Wilson, Carroll A. Review: Iannetta, *Henry W. Longfellow and Montecassino*, 443-444.
- Wilson, James Southall. Review: Heartman and Canny (comps.), *A Bibliography of First Printings of the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe, 176-177*.
- Wolff, Robert Lee. "The Genesis of 'The Turn of the Screw,'" 1-8.



## II. ARTICLES

*Under this heading is included everything except reviews. For "Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals," see pp. 98-107, 197-205, 293-303, 452-460. For "Research in Progress," see pp. 66-69, 168-170, 266-268, 417-422.*

- "America, Thomas Campbell and," by Charles Duffy, 346-355.  
 "American Men of Letters, Samuel Rogers and," by Joseph J. Firebaugh, 331-345.  
 "An American Version of *Munchausen*," by Erwin G. Gudde, 372-390.  
 "Boyesen, H. H.: A Note on Immigration," by George L. White, Jr., 363-371.  
 "Bradstreet, Anne, in England: A Bibliographical Note," by J. Kester Svendsen, 63-65.  
 Cabell, James Branch. "*Jurgen* and *Figures of Earth* and the Russian Skazki," by Paul G. Brewster, 305-319.  
 "Campbell, Thomas, and America," by Charles Duffy, 346-355.  
 Clemens, S. L. See Twain, Mark.  
 Cooper, James Fenimore. "Cooper and the American Copyright Club: An Unpublished Letter," by John A. Kouwenhoven, 265.  
 Dana, R. H., Jr. "Russian Christmas Before the Mast," by Sherman Kent, 395-398.  
 Derby, George H. See Phoenix, John.  
 "Dickens, Charles, and International Copyright," by Lawrence H. Houtchens, 18-28.  
 Donnelly, Ignatius. "Dr. Holmes Advises Young Ignatius Donnelly," by John Flanagan, 59-61.  
 Frost, Robert. "The Humanistic Idealism of Robert Frost," by Hyatt Howe Waggoner, 207-223.  
 "Gilded Age, Muckraking in the," by Edward E. Cassady, 134-141.  
 Harte, Bret. "Bret Harte upon Mark Twain in 1866," by George R. Stewart, 263-264.  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "Suggestions for Interpreting *The Marble Faun*," by Dorothy Waples, 224-239.  
 Holmes, Oliver W. "Dr. Holmes Advises Young Ignatius Donnelly," by John Flanagan, 59-61; "Holmes Quizzes the Professors," by Hjalmar Lokensgard, 157-162.  
 "International Copyright, Charles Dickens and," by Lawrence H. Houtchens, 18-28.  
 James, Henry. "The Genesis of 'The Turn of the Screw,'" by Robert Lee Wolff, 1-8; "Henry James and His French Contemporaries," by W. C. D. Pacey, 240-256.  
 Melville, Herman. "Herman Melville's 'I and My Chimney,'" by Merton M. Sealts, 142-154; "Melville's First Lectures," by Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., 391-395.  
 Motley, John Lothrop. "Motley's 'The Chevalier de Sataniski,'" by B. T. Schantz, 155-157.  
 "Muckraking in the Gilded Age," by Edward E. Cassady, 134-141.  
 Norris, Frank. "Frank Norris on Realism and Naturalism," by Charles Child Walcutt, 61-63.  
 O'Neill, Eugene. "Continental Influences on Eugene O'Neill's Expressionistic Dramas," by Clara Blackburn, 110-133.  
 Phoenix, John. "Mark Twain's Indebtedness to John Phoenix," by Gladys Carmen Belamy, 29-43.  
 Poe, Edgar A. "Poe's 'Palaestine,'" by J. O. Bailey, 44-58; "A Sarah Helen Whitman Letter about Edgar Allan Poe," by H. P. Vincent, 162-167.  
 Prescott, W. H. "Prescott's Political and Social Attitudes," by William Charvat, 320-330.  
 "Rogers, Samuel, and American Men of Letters," by Joseph J. Firebaugh, 331-345.  
 "Suggestions for Interpreting *The Marble Faun*," by Dorothy Waples, 224-239.  
 Twain, Mark. "Mark Twain's Indebtedness to John Phoenix," by Gladys Carmen Belamy, 29-43; "Mark Twain as Translator from the German," by Dixon Wester, 257-263; "Bret Harte upon Mark Twain in 1866," by George R. Stewart, 263-264; "Mark Twain and Isaiah Sellers," by Ernest E. Leisy, 398-405; "An Unpublished Mark Twain Letter," by Lawrence Clark Powell, 405-407; "Mark Twain and the Department of Agriculture," by James C. Olson, 408-410.

- Whitman, Sarah Helen. "A Sarah Helen Whitman Letter about Edgar Allan Poe," by H. P. Vincent, 162-167.
- Whitman, Walt. "Early Reminiscences of Walt Whitman," by Jennie A. Morgan, 9-17; "Doubtful Whitman Lore," by Louise Pound, 411-413; "A Reply," by Jennie A. Morgan, 414-416.
- Woodworth, Samuel. "'Scenes of My Childhood,'" by Charles Duffy, 167; "Scenes of My Childhood": A Comment," by Kendall B. Taft, 410-411.

## III. BOOKS REVIEWED

*The names of the reviewers are given in parentheses. Most of the books noticed under "Brief Mention" are not included.*

- Bateson, F. W. (ed.), *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Jay B. Hubbell), 183-185.
- Beach, Joseph Warren, *American Fiction: 1920-1940* (George R. Stewart), 269-271.
- Black, Frank Gees, *The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Descriptive and Bibliographical Study* (Herbert Brown), 182-183.
- Blackmur, R. P., *The Expense of Greatness* (Henry Nash Smith), 79-81.
- Boas, George (ed.), *Romanticism in America* (Tremaine McDowell), 81-82.
- Booth, Bradford A. and Claude E. Jones, *A Concordance of the Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (David K. Jackson), 276-277.
- Boynton, Percy H., *America in Contemporary Fiction* (DeLancey Ferguson), 79.
- Brockway, Philip Judd, *Sylvester Judd (1813-1853): Novelist of Transcendentalism* (Randall Stewart), 272-274.
- Brooks, Van Wyck, *New England: Indian Summer, 1865-1915* (Robert E. Spiller), 70-73.
- Cheyney, Edward Potts, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940* (Robert E. Spiller), 438-439.
- Clemens, Cyril (ed.), *Republican Letters* (Fred W. Lorch), 439-440.
- Dahlberg, Edward, *Do These Bones Live* (Robert E. Spiller), 441.
- DeVoto, Bernard (ed.), *Mark Twain in Eruption: Hitherto Unpublished Pages about Men and Manners* (Henry A. Pochmann), 173-176.
- Dowlin, Cornell M. (ed.), *The University of Pennsylvania Today* (Robert E. Spiller), 438-439.
- Foote, Henry Wilder, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (John A. Kouwenhoven), 84-86.
- Friederich, Werner P., *Werden und Wachsen der U. S. A. in 300 Jahren* (John Herbert Nelson), 87-88.
- Gettman, Royal A., *Turgenev in England and America* (Lyon N. Richardson), 435-436.
- Gilbert, Katherine Everett and Helmut Kuhn, *A History of Aesthetics* (Clarence D. Thorpe), 82-84.
- Harrison, Joseph B., *Bret Harte: Representative Selections* (George R. Stewart), 436-438.
- Heartman, Charles F. and James R. Canny (comps.), *A Bibliography of First Printings of the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe* (James Southall Wilson), 176-177.
- Hemminghaus, Edgar H., *Mark Twain in Germany* (Walter Blair), 87.
- Holmes, Thomas J., *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of His Works* (Robert E. Spiller), 75-76.
- Hubbell, Jay B. (ed.), *The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867: Including Letters of Timrod to Paul Hamilton Hayne and Letters about Timrod by William Gilmore Simms, John R. Thompson, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Others* (Edd Winfield Parks), 280-282.
- Iannetta, Sabatino, *Henry W. Longfellow and Montecassino* (Carroll A. Wilson), 443-444.
- Index to Early American Periodical Literature, 1728-1870. No. 3. Walt Whitman* (Floyd Stovall), 279-280.
- Johnson, Thomas H., *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards 1703-1758: A Bibliography* (Theodore Hornberger), 179-180.
- Lawson, Victor, *Dunbar Critically Examined* (Sculley Bradley), 283-284.

- Luccock, Halford E., *American Mirror: Social, Ethical and Religious Aspects of American Literature, 1930-1940* (Fred B. Millett), 277-279.
- McGlinchey, Claire, *The First Decade of the Boston Museum* (Oral Sumner Coad), 180-181.
- Manchester, Frederick and Odell Shepard (eds.), *Irving Babbitt: Man and Teacher* (Newman I. White), 443.
- Mather, Edward, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Modest Man* (Randall Stewart), 73-74.
- Mathiessen, F. O., *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (Robert E. Spiller), 432-435.
- Maynardier, Gustavus Howard, *The First American Novelist* (Bartholow V. Crawford), 76.
- Odell, George C. D., *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. XII (Arthur Hobson Quinn), 177-178.
- Ostrom, John Ward (comp.), *Check List of Letters to and from Poe* (David K. Jackson), 283.
- Parks, Edd Winfield, *Charles Egbert Craddock* (Mary Noailles Murfree) (Ernest E. Leisy), 275.
- Raddin, George Gates, Jr., *An Early New York Library of Fiction: With a Checklist of the Fiction in H. Caritat's Circulating Library, No. 1 City Hotel, Broadway, New York, 1804* (Herbert Brown), 181-182.
- Sampson, George, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* (Jay B. Hubbell), 446-447.
- Shepard, Odell. See Manchester, Frederick.
- Turner, Arlin, *Hawthorne as Editor: Selections from His Writings in The American Magazine for Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* (Stanley T. Williams), 271-272.
- Van Doren, Carl, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (Lewis Leary), 441-442.
- Wells, Henry W., *New Poets from Old: A Study in Literary Genetics* (Sculley Bradley), 76-78.
- Wilson, Forrest, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Alexander Cowie), 171-173.
- Winwar, Frances, *American Giant: Walt Whitman and His Times* (Clifton Joseph Furness), 423-432.
- Wynn, Dudley Taylor, *A Critical Study of Mary Hunter Austin (1868-1934)* (Henry Nash Smith), 276.

## THE GENESIS OF THE "TURN OF THE SCREW"

ROBERT LEE WOLFF  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

THE TURN of the Screw" has been perhaps the most widely read and discussed of the stories of Henry James. Critics as diverse as Heywood Broun and William Lyon Phelps, to mention only two, have testified to their appreciation of its apparent horrors; they and others accept as genuine the ghosts who haunt the children.<sup>1</sup> Edna Kenton, on the other hand, pointing out the obtuseness of these readers, caught, as she puts it, in James's trap, has suggested a second set of horrors behind the first:<sup>2</sup>

The children hounded by the prowling ghosts—this is the hard and shining surface story of *The Turn of the Screw*; or, to put it more accurately, it is the traditional and accepted interpretation of the story as it has come down through a quarter of a century of readers' reactions resulting from "a cold artistic calculation" on the part of its highly entertained author . . . no reader has more to go on than the young governess' word . . . it is she—always she herself—who sees the lurking shapes and heralds them to her little world.<sup>3</sup>

This is the view taken by the artist Charles Demuth, whose four illustrations for the story appear with Miss Kenton's article;<sup>4</sup> the scenes in the story which he has chosen to reproduce, the tortured forms and expressions, are proof positive that he regards the governess, who sees the ghosts and tells the story, as a neurotic, suffering from sex repression.<sup>5</sup> Edmund Wilson has examined this view of

<sup>1</sup> Broun in his Introduction to the Modern Library Edition (New York, 1930); Phelps in *Howells, James, Bryant, and Other Essays* (New York, 1924), pp. 143 ff. All page references to "The Turn of the Screw," are to *The Novels and Tales of Henry James* (New York, 1908), XII, 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Henry James to the Ruminant Reader: The Turn of the Screw," *The Arts*, IV, 245-255 (Nov., 1924).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> The illustrations appear on pp. 247, 249, 250, and 253 of the above-cited number of *The Arts*. They are also to be found reproduced in *Charles Demuth*, ed. A. E. Gallatin (New York, 1927), unpagged; and, according to *The Index of Twentieth Century Artists* (1935), II, 149, in William Murrell, *Charles Demuth*, "American Artists Series, Whitney Museum of Art" (New York, 1931), pp. 41, 43.

<sup>5</sup> The following are the titles of Demuth's pictures: "I can see . . . the way . . . his hand . . . passed from one crenelation to the next." (The governess's expression of rapture in this picture is masterly.) "They moved slowly, in unison, below us, over the lawn, the boy, as they went, reading aloud from a story-book, and passing his arm

the story even more closely; he analyzes the narrative step by step.<sup>6</sup> Going beyond Miss Kenton's suggestion that the governess alone sees the ghosts, Wilson finds several matters of Freudian significance, including the governess's final passion for the little boy, which leads her, in the end, to frighten him to death.<sup>7</sup> He concludes that the story "is simply a variation on one of James's familiar themes: the frustrated Anglo-Saxon spinster."<sup>8</sup> This second set of psychological horrors beneath the already terrible surface of the story goes a long way toward justifying Douglas, James's fictional narrator, the possessor of the governess's manuscript, who is made to say of the story, before he reads it to his audience: "It's beyond anything. Nothing at all that I know touches it. . . . For dreadful-dreadfulness! . . . For general uncanny ugliness and horror and pain."<sup>9</sup>

All this discussion considered, then, it is surprising that we know so little about the genesis of "The Turn of the Screw." James himself, in his Preface, tells us only this:

. . . the starting point itself—the sense all charming again, of the circle, one winter afternoon, round the hall-fire of a grave old country-house, where (for all the world as if to resolve itself promptly and obligingly into "literary stuff") the talk turned, on I forget what homely pretext, to apparitions and night-fears, to the marked and sad drop in the general

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round his sister to keep her quite in touch." "She had picked up a small flat piece of wood, which happened to have in it a little hole that had evidently suggested to her the idea of sticking in another fragment that might figure as a mast and make the thing a boat." "Did I steal?" (This last, of course, shows part of the dreadful final interview between the governess and little Miles.) Demuth has deliberately chosen four scenes with ambiguous meanings and hidden sexual significance.

<sup>6</sup> "The Ambiguity of Henry James," in Wilson's *The Triple Thinkers* (New York, 1938), pp. 122 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson mentions, of course, the two pieces of wood (above, n. 5), "the fact that the male apparition first appears on a tower and the female apparition on a lake" (*ibid.*, p. 125), the governess's complex loves, first for her employer and then for the little boy, and her unwillingness to trouble her employer over the matter of the apparitions for fear that he would think she had attempted to attract his attention to her own "slighted charms." Wilson does not, however, mention specifically many other phenomena and expressions susceptible of a Freudian interpretation, for example: "Flora whom . . . I had established in the schoolroom with a sheet of white paper, a pencil, and a copy of nice 'round O's' now presented herself at the open door" (p. 167). The story is full of candles which are blown out; the ghosts are seen in corridors and on staircases, and through windows; when Miles and the governess are left alone at dinner they are "silent while the maid was with us—as silent, it whimsically occurred to me, as some young couple who, on their wedding journey, at the inn, feel shy in the presence of the waiter" (p. 297).

<sup>8</sup> *The Triple Thinkers*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>9</sup> "The Turn of the Screw," p. 148.

supply, and still more in the general quality of such commodities. . . . Thus it was, I remember, that amid our lament for a beautiful lost form, our distinguished host expressed the wish that he might have recovered for us one of the scantest of fragments of this form at its best. He had never forgotten the impression, made upon him as a young man, by the withheld glimpse, as it were, of a dreadful matter that had been reported years before, and with as few particulars, to a lady with whom he had youthfully talked. The story would have been thrilling, could she but have found herself in better possession of it, dealing as it did with a couple of small children in an out-of-the-way place, to whom the spirits of certain "bad" servants, dead in the employ of the house, were believed to have appeared with the design of "getting hold" of them. This was all, but there had been more, which my friend's old converser had lost the thread of: she could only assure him of the wonder of the allegations as she had anciently heard them made. He himself could give us but the shadow of a shadow. . . . On the surface there wasn't much, but another grain, none the less, would have spoiled the precious pinch. . . . I was to remember the haunted children and the prowling servile spirits as a "value" of the disquieting sort. . . . Such was the private source of "The Turn of the Screw."<sup>10</sup>

The "distinguished host" of this preface was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward White Benson, father of A. C. Benson and of E. F. Benson, both distinguished authors and friends of Henry James. The "grave old country-house" was Addington, at Croydon, near London, country seat of the Archbishop. On March 11, 1898, just before "The Turn of the Screw" was to be published, James wrote to A. C. Benson, whose father, the Archbishop, had died in 1896:

. . . on one of those two memorable—never to be obliterated—winter nights that I spent at the sweet Addington, your father, in the drawing room by the fire . . . repeated to me the few meagre elements of a small and gruesome spectral story that had been told *him* years before. . . . The vaguest essence only was there—some dead servants and some children. This essence *struck* me and I made a note of it (of a most scrappy kind) on going home. There the note remained till this autumn, when, struck with it fresh, I wrought it into a fantastic fiction which, first intended to be of the briefest, finally became a thing of some length, and is now being "serialized" in an American periodical.<sup>11</sup> It

<sup>10</sup> Preface to "The Turn of the Screw," pp. xiv-xvi.

<sup>11</sup> *Collier's Weekly*, where it ran from Feb. 5 to April 16, 1898.

will appear late in the spring (chez Heinemann) in a volume with *one* other story, and then I will send it to you.<sup>12</sup>

The Benson sons have fortunately been enormously articulate about their family life,<sup>13</sup> and one is not disappointed when one examines their works for reference to this auspicious evening at Addington, when, James says, the Archbishop of Canterbury sowed the seeds for "The Turn of the Screw." A. C. Benson, in the chapter on James in his *Memories and Friends*,<sup>14</sup> tells us a little more about this occasion:

Again, he came to us at Addington on the day after the collapse of one of his plays. . . . He and my father, on that occasion, found much to say to each other. Indeed it was not long after that date that he presented me with his *Two Magics*,<sup>15</sup> saying that I should at once guess the reason for the gift. I read the book, but could not divine the connection. He then told me that it was on that visit that my father had told him a story which was the germ of that most tragical and even appalling story *The Turn of the Screw*. My father took a certain interest in psychical matters, but we have never been able to recollect any story that he ever told which could have provided a hint for so grim a subject.

Writing years later, A. C. Benson had probably forgotten James's letter to him before the book itself appeared. What he remembered was his own surprise at finding the germ of the story attributed to his father, who had, of course, died by the time the story was written.

We are incidentally now able to fix the date of this visit of James to Addington. Only two of James's plays were actually produced, *The American* and *Guy Domville*; and of these two only *Guy Domville* can be said to have had a "collapse." In fact, James was much upset by an incident on the opening night, January

<sup>12</sup> *The Letters of Henry James*, ed. Percy Lubbock (New York, 1920), I, 279-280. The volume was *The Two Magics*, which contained "The Turn of the Screw" and "Covering End."

<sup>13</sup> A. C. Benson, *Life of Edward White Benson, Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury* (2 vols.; London, 1899). There is no mention in this book of the evening at Addington, but Benson records the fact that his father liked Henry James's early novels, and once quoted from *Roderick Hudson* in a sermon (I, 601). Also *The Trefoil* (New York, 1924), about the life of the Benson family before 1882, when their father became Archbishop, and *Diary of A. C. Benson*, ed. Percy Lubbock (New York, 1926), and memoirs of his youngest brother, Hugh. E. F. Benson has written *Our Family Affairs, 1867-96* (London, 1920). In all of these, there are interesting references to Henry James, none of which is especially relevant here.

<sup>14</sup> New York, 1924, pp. 216-217.

<sup>15</sup> See above, n. 12.

5, 1895, and the play ran only a month.<sup>16</sup> It is, then, reasonable to assume that the visit to Addington took place in January, 1895, perhaps on the sixth, the day after James "had been exposed, apparently by a misunderstanding, to the hostility of the grosser part of the audience."<sup>17</sup> A date early in 1895 is confirmed by another letter from James to A. C. Benson, dated February 24, 1895, in which he says: "Remembrance for me, is, thank heaven, a great romance; and I have already the most gently-gilded image of my evening and morning at the wide fair Addington."<sup>18</sup>

The feeling of uncertainty, produced by A. C. Benson, as to just what his father did tell James on this January night in 1895 is increased when one turns to E. F. Benson's delightful book *As We Were: A Victorian Peep Show*.<sup>19</sup>

One evening, while he was staying with us at Addington, he and my father lingered, talking together after tea, while we all drifted away to our various occupations, and though we heard no mention of the contents of that conversation at the time, there came of it an odd and interesting sequel. For, years later, Henry James wrote to my brother, on the eve of the publication of the volume containing *The Turn of the Screw*, to the effect that the story had been told him on that occasion by my father. It is among the grimmest stories of the world. . . . But the odd thing is that to all of us the story was absolutely new, and neither my mother, nor my brother nor I had the faintest recollection of any tale of my father's which resembled it. The contents of the family story-box are usually fairly well known to the members of the circle, and it seems very improbable that we should all have forgotten so arresting a tale if it was ever told us. The whole incident is difficult to unravel, but Henry James was quite definite that my father told him this story, though in outline only. . . . It is possible, of course, that my father merely gave him the barest hint for the story. . . .

Difficult to unravel, indeed, is this failure of Archbishop Benson's whole family to remember anything about the story attributed to him after his death by Henry James. Thus it has become difficult to accept at face value James's account of the genesis of the story; but, even if we do so, we are given merely "the shadow of a

<sup>16</sup> *Letters*, I, 146-147. See also Edmund Gosse, *Aspects and Impressions* (London, 1922), pp. 33-34; and Elizabeth Robins, *Theatre and Friendship* (London, 1924), pp. 166 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Letters*, I, 147.

<sup>18</sup> Henry James, *Letters to A. C. Benson and Auguste Monod*, ed. E. F. Benson (London, n. d.), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> London, 1930, p. 278.



shadow," as James himself says: merely the *theme* of wicked ghostly servants and victimized children.

It is now time to call the reader's attention to the striking picture, herewith reproduced. Entitled "The Haunted House" and drawn by T. Griffiths,<sup>20</sup> it depicts two children, a boy and a girl, looking in terror across a lake at a house with a tower. From one window of the house there shines a ghostly light, which is reflected in the water; the children are standing under a great tree, and the shrubbery around the lake is very thick. It is needless to point out that there are many of these scenic elements in "The Turn of the Screw," although of course in the story the children never are together on the far side of the lake. Haunted house with tower, lake, frightened little boy and girl—how attractive it would be to prove that Henry James saw this picture before he wrote "The Turn of the Screw," and that to its vivid pictorial impression he was able, perhaps subconsciously, to add whatever nucleus of anecdote had been supplied by Archbishop Benson.

Fortunately the proof is simple. The picture appears in the special Christmas number for 1891 of *Black and White*,<sup>21</sup> a weekly illustrated London review. It does not illustrate any story; it is simply included as an artistic effort, to please the reader of the magazine, according to a custom followed by many illustrated magazines of the period, notably this one. In the same number there appears for the first time Henry James's story "Sir Edmund Orme."<sup>22</sup> Thus it is impossible to imagine that James did not see

<sup>20</sup> About T. Griffiths I have been able to find very little information. Listed in Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1922), XV, 29, as Tom Griffiths, he is said to have come from Leeds, and to have exhibited regularly in the Royal Academy showings from 1871 to 1904. The London exhibitions in which he showed pictures are listed in Algernon Graves, *Dictionary of Artists Who Have Contributed to the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760-1893* (London, 1895), p. 118; and the titles of his Academy pictures are listed in the same author's *The Royal Academy Exhibitors 1709-1904* (London, 1905), III, 325. In 1879, for example, his picture was called "Dark and more dark the shades of evening grow," Wordsworth. The annual programs of the Academy name his pictures, but never reproduce them.

<sup>21</sup> II, 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-15. Complete files of *Black and White* are to be found in the United States only in the Library of Congress and the Yale University Library. Volume II, with this special Christmas number presumably included, is also in the Public Library in Seattle, Washington (*Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the United States and Canada*, ed. Winifred Gregory, New York, 1927, p. 245).

Although the editor's name is never mentioned in the pages of *Black and White* itself, he was James Nicoll Dunn, who had already been connected with the *Dundee Adventurer*, *The Scotsman*, the *National Observer*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and who later edited



THE HAUNTED HOUSE

this number of *Black and White*<sup>23</sup>—in fact, it will be proved beyond a doubt that he did—and so the probability that he also saw this picture is established as extremely strong. If he saw it, it almost surely served him as a source for the setting of "The Turn of the Screw."

That he forgot entirely about this picture, at least in his conscious mind, is very probable, but that his subconscious mind may very well have remembered it, is indicated by no fewer than three suggestive passages in his writings. In a letter to F. W. H. Myers, dated December 19, 1898, James says: "The *T. of the S.* is a very mechanical matter, I honestly think—an inferior, a merely *pictorial*, subject and rather a shameless pot-boiler. . . ."<sup>24</sup> (Italics are James's own.) In a letter to Dr. Louis Waldstein, dated October 21, 1898, he says: "That *The Turn of the Screw* has been suggestive and significant to you . . . it gives me pleasure to hear. . . . I am only afraid, perhaps, that my conscious intention strikes you as having been larger than I deserve it should be thought. It is the intention so primarily, with me, always, of the artist, of the *painter*, that *that* is what I most myself, felt in it. . . ."<sup>25</sup> (Again the italics are James's own.) Thus twice in letters, he stresses and underlines the notion that "The Turn of the Screw" is essentially, somehow, related to painting and pictures. Perhaps this point should not be labored too far, since, as is well known, James regarded his later style as essentially "pictorial," and frequently, in referring to his own works, uses this word or some equivalent. "The Turn of the Screw," however, is one of the earliest examples of his later style, and James's own emphasis upon painting in connection with it may be worth noting.

The third passage is to be found in his own Preface to Volume XVII (1909) of his *Collected Works*, which includes "Sir Edmund Orme": "Moved to say that of *Sir Edmund Orme* I remember

the *Morning Post* and the *Manchester Courier* (T. H. S. Escott, *Masters of English Journalism*, London, 1911, pp. 302-303).

<sup>23</sup> *Black and White* was published weekly in London from Feb. 6, 1891, to Jan. 13, 1913, when it was merged with the *Sphere*. Besides "Sir Edmund Orme," James also contributed, in its first year, "Brooksmith," which appeared in the number for May 2, pp. 417-422. Among other contributors during this first year were Robert Louis Stevenson ("The Bottle Imp" and "The South Seas"), Rudyard Kipling ("Brugglesmith" and "Children of the Zodiac"), Thomas Hardy ("To Please His Wife"), J. M. Barrie ("Is It a Man?"), and Bret Harte (several contributions).

<sup>24</sup> *Letters*, ed. Lubbock, I, 300.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

absolutely nothing, I yet pull myself up ruefully to retrace the presumption that this morsel must first have appeared, with a large picture, in a weekly newspaper and, as then struck me, in the smallest of all possible print. . . ."<sup>26</sup> This, in point of fact, is exactly the way in which "Sir Edmund Orme" did appear in *Black and White*. This lapse of memory also enabled James to forget the other picture he had seen, at the time of the appearance of "Sir Edmund Orme," a picture, which together with Archbishop Benson's anecdote, had served as the chief source of "The Turn of the Screw." At any rate, we now know beyond all doubt that at least he had seen the number of *Black and White* in which "The Haunted House" appeared.

Professor Lowes has given, in *The Road to Xanadu*, a masterly demonstration of the ways in which the creative imagination works. He shows over and over again how widely disparate elements of Coleridge's reading and experience separately "sank below the level of Coleridge's conscious mental processes and disappeared,"<sup>27</sup> only later to be drawn up again, now fused by the shaping imagination into artistic unity. The chapter from which this quotation is drawn is called "The Deep Well," a title, curiously enough, taken from Henry James's description of his own creative processes. About the original suggestion of the plot for *The American*, James says: "I . . . dropped it for the time into the deep well of unconscious cerebration not without the hope, doubtless, that it might eventually emerge from that reservoir. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

It seems entirely probable, then, that at Christmas time, 1891, Henry James saw Tom Griffiths's picture called "The Haunted House," the memory of which disappeared into the well; that in January, 1895, he heard a fragment of a story from Archbishop Benson, the memory of which likewise disappeared into the well; and that, early in 1898, the idea of the picture and the idea of the anecdote emerged from the reservoir, fused by the shaping imagination, the anecdote having supplied the ideas for the plot, and the picture those for the setting of "The Turn of the Screw."

<sup>26</sup> P. xxiii. Cf. Le Roy Phillips, *A Bibliography of the Works of Henry James* (New York, 1930), p. 39. Incidentally, the date and the place of the first appearance of "Sir Edmund Orme" have here been established, and the gap in Phillips's bibliography has been filled.

<sup>27</sup> *The Road to Xanadu* (Boston and New York, 1927), p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56 and p. 480 n. 54.

## EARLY REMINISCENCES OF WALT WHITMAN

JENNIE A. MORGAN

*Lincoln, Nebraska*

ONE DAY in 1910, as I was sitting on the porch of our Nebraska home with my mother, Manie Kendley Morgan, the chance prattle of a child reminded her of the strange meeting and later friendship of her grandfather and Walt Whitman, more than sixty years before. One interesting detail led to another until I had a clear impression of the poet, which I have never lost. Since the method of preservation has been family tradition, some details may have become blurred or misplaced during nearly a century since the first meeting of my great-grandfather and the now famous poet; four generations constitute a long memory span, though there was but one intermediate narrator between one of the principals in this story and myself. But I have checked what my mother reported with my father's account and also with the story as told by my aunt, Julia Brown, all of whom had it direct from my mother's grandfather, Ben Smith. Julia Brown's diary for 1865 I have seen also, in which is contemporary mention of the story as it had just been received, though this allusion is without detail. Another corroborating "document" is the inscription to Ben Smith in the poet's hand, on the flyleaf of a volume presented by the author in 1865. Such checks are not the equivalent of contemporary autobiography, it is true, but the vitality of family tradition is itself a fact, and must have had commensurate cause. For what these reminiscences are worth, I think it may interest Whitman readers to have them recorded, as already I have related the story of my father's acquaintance with Whitman during the war.<sup>1</sup> I shall reproduce my mother's narrative as she remembered the story from her grandfather, in whose thought Walt Whitman long lived as a vivid personality and vital force.

<sup>1</sup> "Four Men My Father Knew," *Prairie Schooner* (University of Nebraska), XIV, 22-34 (Spring, 1940). The incident there presented tells how Whitman, during the period of his hospital visiting, prevented a jealous mother from obstructing the marriage of her daughter to a soldier. This and the following notes, as well as certain revisions in the text, have been supplied, with Miss Morgan's permission and assistance, by Emory Holloway, for the Board of Editors.

\* \* \*

You know how Grandfather Ben Smith drove his herd of razor-backed hogs from Lexington, Kentucky, to New Orleans every other year.<sup>2</sup> One year, it was in '48, the year that I was born,<sup>3</sup> a friend wrote Grandfather that he would make more money to sell in New York City. Accordingly, Grandfather drove his herd East, only to find his friend mistaken.<sup>4</sup> So he added his friend's herd to his own and proceeded toward New Orleans.

<sup>2</sup>The trip here described was an extra trip. A neighbor who suffered from lung trouble sold his hogs to Smith and left Kentucky; the trip was made for the purpose of disposing of them. Thus there may have been three trips in as many years.

<sup>3</sup>The date is somewhat uncertain, but its determination has special significance. If the incident occurred in 1848, it adds to our knowledge of Whitman's habits in New Orleans and shows him to have explored the country about the city while working on the daily *Crescent*. If it was in 1849, as evidence will be produced to show that it may have been, then the narrative tends to support the conjecture (Holloway, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, I, li, n.; xci, 24 n.) that Whitman made a second journey to the South in the fall of 1849. This conjecture, in turn, gives color to the theory of a Southern romance, which might naturally have supplied a motive for such a second visit (Holloway, *Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative*, pp. 81-83).

The argument for 1848, aside from Manie Morgan's testimony given above, is that the only time Ben Smith went to the home of his friend near New York must have been in 1848, since on the same journey he visited his grandson, Robert Truman, who left New York at the end of 1848. The evidence in support of 1849 as the date of the journey is a little more involved, but less dependent upon memory. In Julia Brown's diary, under date of Thanksgiving, 1865, appears this passage:

"Grandfather Smith has come from visiting Manie and John. He likes John. He told mother and me of a booklet Walt Whitman sent him. He told us, again of the poet's visit to his campfire years ago. I remember his telling it the year he brought my providence parrot [a parrot accidentally acquired in New Orleans and given to Julia Brown in answer to her request that such a pet be brought from the Southern city]. I understood very little of it that first time but I was impressed by his earnestness, just like his earnestness now. I remember he laughed and clapped his hands as he said, 'He likes us.' Manie, attracted by his clapping and laughing, walked to him. He said, 'She bends over, Jane [Manie Morgan's mother], just as you did in your first steps.'"

This, according to Miss Morgan, would fix the date as 1849, at least, since her mother was not born until November 10, 1848, and did not walk until she was a year old. Miss Morgan's father remembered the date as that of the year *following* Manie's birth. The year 1849 would agree with the date of Whitman's conjectural second journey to the South. It is possible, of course, that the Deep South does not figure in this episode at all, so far as Whitman is concerned, since he may have fallen in with Ben Smith in the neighborhood of New York; but this appears unlikely for reasons which will be set forth in footnote 5, below. And if it did occur in the neighborhood of New Orleans, this could not have been in 1848 since in the fall of that year (the season for Smith's regular trips) Whitman was in Brooklyn.

<sup>4</sup>It is difficult to check this date by comparing the prices of hogs on the hoof in the two cities. Probably such prices are reflected with some accuracy, however, in the prices of pork, which are available. Pork was selling in New York that year for \$13 a barrel (*U. S. Senate Reports*, No. 1395, Part 2, p. 92), whereas the price in New Orleans varied during the year from \$7.80 to \$15.75 (Arthur Harrison Cole, *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, p. 310). Unless one knew certainly

He reached the first pen in good time.<sup>5</sup> When the hogs were enclosed, he lay down on a blanket while the Negroes gathered sticks for cooking supper and cut and piled tree boughs for beds. "Good evening, sir." He opened his eyes to see standing before him a large, rosy-faced man whom he had never seen before. The stranger picked up a stone; then, taking a knife from his pocket, he said, "Sir, I'll wager this knife against supper that I can throw this rock farther than you can." In telling of this incident Grandfather always said, "I am accounted a good thrower, but his stone far out-distanced mine."

The problem of supper being thus disposed of, Grandfather extended his hospitality to include such accommodations as he had for the night. "Isaac," he called to one of his slaves, "bring my guest a blanket." The stranger then said that his name was Walt Whitman. He added that he was a writer, and, folks being his stock in trade, he tramped about to find them. Grandfather gave his own name and mentioned that he was from Kentucky. As Isaac approached with the blanket, he quickly rose to intercept him, for he knew that most Northerners disliked the personal odor of Negroes. Whitman, however, would not have it so. He strode ahead of his host and himself took the blanket from Isaac. The

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the time of year when the journey was begun, it would therefore be difficult to judge whether the New Orleans prices were higher. In any case the difference seems too small to justify so long a journey; yet there were no wages to be paid the drivers, since these were slaves, and if the season were well chosen the hogs could be fed en route on mast at no cost to the owner. The highest New Orleans prices were paid in the fall, and this would of course be the time of falling acorns. The New Orleans papers that I have seen do not give such prices, and it is doubtful if there was a standard market price; the two authorities just quoted must have depended upon such variable source materials as bills of sale from contemporary merchants. Regardless of what the prices actually were, however, Ben Smith's decision depended upon whatever reports happened to reach him.

<sup>5</sup> Miss Morgan says that her mother was not sure whether Smith said the "first pen," that is, first out of New York, or the "last pen," before reaching New Orleans. There is no hint elsewhere of Whitman's wandering in New Jersey about a day's journey from New York; nor is there of course, such hint of his exploring the neighborhood of New Orleans; but many descriptive details in his prose and verse indicate that he knew more about the South than was to be picked up on Canal Street or in the *Vieux Carré*. Moreover, it is hard to believe that there was a stream a day's journey from New York where Smith had a pen already prepared for his hogs, since he came East with his hogs but once. On the other hand, he had built a pen on the banks of a ravine not far from New Orleans, a ravine which had only once been found dry in the fall of the year. Whitman's evident curiosity concerning the life and nature of the South—a curiosity affirmed by the Smith story itself—supplies sufficient motive for his being in such a locality.

Negro had a pock-marked face and was inclined to grow angry if anyone took notice of his scars. Perhaps this was another reason why Grandfather had been quick to prevent his near approach to Whitman. But he need not have worried, for in the most natural and friendly way Whitman said to Isaac, "You licked it, didn't you?" On the dark, pitted face there was first a look of wonder, then a grateful smile. Whitman handed the blanket to Grandfather and said courteously, "You rest, sir; I'll help the boys."

At supper his guest did justice to Grandfather's biscuit and gravy. Several times during the repast the poet lifted his head in a listening attitude whenever the grunting of the hogs in the pen could be heard. The meal over, he asked to be allowed to see the hogs. They went to the pen and Whitman began to call "sooey-sooey" very softly. When the razorbacks approached the fence, he stroked their red hair. Grandfather always said, "As I stood watching him, the conviction came to me that this man liked—I mean had affection for—my hogs. I realized then that poor, disfigured Isaac had quickly sensed the love of this man and had not minded his direct gaze—but had indeed been won to a smile by it. I do not know how long Whitman would have stayed with my hogs had I not after a time proposed that we go back to the fire and rest." Thanking Grandfather for letting him see the swine, he remarked, "I've heard of razorbacks, but could not have believed they were so tall." As they walked back through the woods, he stretched out his arms in an all-embracing gesture and exclaimed, "I'd love to see every creature there is in this big America. Oh, I love it—its trees," caressing a branch as he passed, "the water I hear rippling over there—everything!"

When they reached the campfire, Grandfather began to stir the embers for a better light to talk by. But the poet cried, "Oh, starlight, starlight is enough." The two men folded their blankets into pads and leaned back against a tree trunk to continue their conversation. Remarking that he had read Whitman's articles,<sup>6</sup> in which however he had found no reference to Kentucky,<sup>7</sup> Grand-

<sup>6</sup> Miss Morgan says that her mother remembered that Ben Smith's wife had copies of both the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *New Orleans Crescent*, which had been given her by her grandson, Robert Truman, who apparently was a subscriber. These papers were long treasured in the family but were finally lost when lightning destroyed the home of another granddaughter, to whom they had been given.

<sup>7</sup> These articles apparently did not include "Excerpts from a Traveller's Note-Book,"



father inquired, "What do you think of us?" Careful not to offend the sensibilities of his host, Whitman began, "Promise that you won't get mad." Grandfather promised. Then in an earnest tone Whitman said something which Grandfather declared he would remember as long as he lived. "Your women, Mr. Smith, are beautiful in soul and body. Their love is akin to that of the angels and it shows itself in a gracious hospitality that is sunshine and rain to the soul of anyone who shares it.<sup>8</sup> And the heart of their love is their pride in their men. But the softness of the lives their men lead puts no iron into their souls. They are knights with only hares and foxes to conquer." This remark about Southern fox hunting was to influence Grandfather long afterwards. The conversation drifted to politics and occupations, and mention was made of Webster and Clay. "The past is all right," said Whitman. "Politics will furnish quests for some—the professions for all, if they will have it so. It must be, it will be—for America is God's chosen land!"

At length Whitman went to the river to bathe, and Grandfather stretched himself on his bed of boughs. He repeated to himself Whitman's words of tribute to Southern women, applying them to his Mary of long ago—and to his winsome granddaughters. As he lay there, he heard the Negroes walking about the fire and finally pouring water upon it. Josh was saying, "I prayed fer a hole to hide me when I felt dat Whitman's eyes on me from de bank." But Isaac had no fear. "He say dat God made us—dat all ob us am good."

The next morning Grandfather, stealing past the sleeping Negroes and making his way toward the river, was brought to a halt by the unexpected sound of whistling. Peering through the bushes, he saw the poet gazing at the reflection of himself in the water,<sup>9</sup>

which Whitman published in the very first issues of the *Crescent*, for in the second installment of this travel diary, devoted to Cincinnati and Louisville, Whitman had said: "Louisville has many noble and hospitable citizens, whose family circles make a 'happy time' for him who gets on visiting terms with them" (*Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, I, 190). Whether he was writing from personal experience or from hearsay is not known.

<sup>8</sup> Of course the phrasing here may not have been remembered accurately, but as given it suggests that Whitman was speaking from personal, perhaps intimate, experience. If the encounter took place when he was either going to or returning from a second visit in New Orleans to be with his lover if not to see his putative child, the remarks take on a special meaning.

<sup>9</sup> As with Narcissus, this seems to have been a habit with Whitman. At any rate, in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" he tells us how often he has

his face suffused with a look of joy and pride. Whitman's underclothes, which he had draped over a bush, were so white that Grandfather knew he had soaped them in his bath the night before.

When time came to break camp, the hogs proved stubborn about crossing the stream. Grandfather lassoed those that were about to sink and pulled them to the farther bank. Whitman also waded in and pulled others over. Then, from opposite banks of the river, the two men waved farewell. Grandfather always said that out of the corner of his eye he saw Isaac waving too, though he was sure the boy thought himself unseen.

Not until the fall of 1865, when for the first time Grandfather visited your father and me, did I hear in full about that evening in 1848.<sup>9a</sup> But several years before I had heard him speak of Walt Whitman. Once he had told of his grandson, Jim Gentry's, going East to become apprentice to a shipbuilder. "I engineered it," he said; "Walt Whitman would, and he's right, I tell you." On another occasion he had taken one of his granddaughters to elope with a young doctor who did not have a penny to his name. Again he quoted Whitman in explaining his action: "I think as Walt Whitman does that a profession is a worthy quest." One day he told us that he had sold all his foxhounds. "Whitman thinks fox hunting is child's play," he explained, "and I am not going to keep a temptation for my grandsons." He appears to have taken Whitman's criticism of the idle Southern gentry very seriously. Once, after Emancipation, when a grandson declared that he would stay at home and not attend the circus before he would himself go to the pasture for a horse to ride, Grandfather promptly forbade any of the help to get the horse. His grandson gave in and went to the pasture, but in telling of it Grandfather admitted, "I was scared—lest we were as soft as Whitman thought."

The first time Grandfather visited us he brought with him a leather valise. After greetings had been exchanged, he set the valise on a chair and said, "I've brought you a booklet, Manie, that a friend of mine sent last week." He rummaged about in the valise but had trouble in finding what he was looking for. "Maybe your

"Had my eyes dazzled by the shimmering track of beams,

"Look'd at the fine centrifugal spokes of light round the shape of my head  
in the sunlit water." (Section 3.)

<sup>9a</sup> Cf. n. 3.

Step-grandmammy Judy took it out," he said mischievously. "She sets store by it and maybe was afraid I'd give it to some of Mary's granddaughters." He found it had indeed been left at home, but he told your father and me that the booklet contained Walt Whitman's Lincoln poems,<sup>10</sup> and that on the flyleaf the author had written: "In appreciation of an evenings entertainment. These are my best you may not like them."<sup>11</sup> In explaining the allusion in this in-

*In appreciation of an evenings  
entertainment. These are my best  
you may not like them*

scription, Grandfather then told of Whitman's visit to his campfire in 1848, of the throwing contest, of Isaac, of the bath in the river, of the poet's laundry work, of the talk of the two men in the starlight, of the good-byes from the river's banks. He said he had read "Lilacs" and "My Captain" the very night the booklet arrived and had then written the author, "I feel about Lincoln just as you do. I thank you for saying it so beautifully." He added that ever since that chance meeting he had been thinking about the problem of the South which Whitman had raised. He had even written another letter to Whitman about it. He took a copy of this letter from his pocket and read it to your father and me. I'll try to quote it from memory.<sup>12</sup>

"Mr. Whitman, your concern for our Southland expressed at my campfire has disturbed me through the years. Whenever I had a breathing spell I worried, for I saw the truth of what you said; I saw our girls refusing the wooing of our boys—fat before their time from underwork—and preferring to become old maids. But the boys could not help it—there was no work for them. Now new

<sup>10</sup> "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" and "O Captain, My Captain," which appeared in "Sequel to Drum-Taps" bound in later issues of the war poems in 1865.

<sup>11</sup> Though the inscription is written in a cramped hand, a comparison with Whitman manuscripts of the period affords no ground for doubting the genuineness of the handwriting.

<sup>12</sup> Miss Morgan says that her mother had an excellent memory. When she died she left a manuscript novel which, though it has never been published, reveals her interest in such details as are here recorded.

opportunities have come to us with Emancipation. Many eyes do not see them, for these eyes are turned upon the ground of a dead past with its ease and unearned luxury; but they will look up and see new stars.

"A strange thing happened in my family which illustrates what I feel about my South. It concerns a girl and a boy, who are in a way Advance Models. They were in the days of slavery as our next generation will be under Emancipation. The girl—let us name her Manie—whose father and mother were children of a planter, was given when six years old into the care of a Negro mammy of the plantation. That was done because the father was tubercular, and it was desired to keep the children away from the contagion of the big house. It was deemed wise also that the child be kept out of doors. The little girl begged to help with the work the black woman did, and learned to do well all kinds of housework. She was happy in this work; to her it was play. Manie is now a wife; she cooks and dusts well, is gracious and sweet, as is her mother, and as her daughters shall be.

"The boy, an orphan—let us call him Fielding—became an inmate of Manie's home. His mother had died of consumption, and it was thought advisable for him to be kept out of doors, like Manie. This was most easily accomplished by letting him go about the plantation. Like the little girl, he begged to be allowed to work. He joyfully learned to work hard, to strive till he conquered. He grew courageous and determined. This boy Fielding is now a man, raising corn, raising it well, and enjoying doing it. The sons of the coming Fieldings of our South will learn courage and fortitude as they work with their hardy fathers."

Not long after dispatching this letter to Whitman, Grandfather sent me one to say, "Whitman writes, 'My hat is off to the Manies and Fieldings of the South. I am ashamed that I ever doubted them!'"

\* \* \*

This, then, is the story of Whitman's influence on one Southern family. But I have wondered whether his contact with my great-grandfather may not be seen, or the influence of other similar meetings, in some of the lines of his poetry. It does not seem strange

that passages like the following, when encountered upon his printed page should, for me, be read with a special reference:

I am enamour'd of growing out-doors,  
Of men that live among cattle or taste of the ocean or woods,  
Of the builders and steerers of ships and the wielders of axes and  
mauls, and the drivers of horses,  
I can eat and sleep with them week in and week out.<sup>13</sup>

A Southerner soon as a Northerner, a planter nonchalant and hospitable down by the Oconee I live.<sup>14</sup>

Wherever he goes men and women accept and desire him,  
They desire he should like them, touch them, speak to them,  
stay with them.<sup>15</sup>

The camp of Georgia wagoners just after dark, the supper-fires  
and the cooking and eating by whites and negroes.<sup>16</sup>

Comrade of raftsmen and coalmen, comrade of all who shake hands  
and welcome to drink and meat.<sup>17</sup>

Through me many long dumb voices,  
Voices of interminable generations of prisoners and slaves,  
Voices of the diseas'd and despairing and of thieves and dwarfs.<sup>18</sup>

I think I could turn and live with animals, they're so placid  
and self-contain'd,  
I stand and look at them sometimes an hour at a stretch.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Leaves of Grass*, Inclusive Edition, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 570.

# CHARLES DICKENS AND INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT

LAWRENCE H. HOUTCHENS  
*University of Illinois*

WHEN CHARLES DICKENS first visited the United States in 1842, he aroused much editorial indignation by pleading for an international copyright law on the occasion of dinners given in his honor at Boston, Hartford, and New York.<sup>1</sup> Possibly because of the sharp criticism he received for his remarks or because of the efforts of friends to dissuade him, Dickens did not, during this trip, again refer to copyright in a speech. He was active, however, in another way of which a complete account has never been given.

During his visit to New York he was in almost constant association with Washington Irving; and some time between Dickens's arrival in New York on February 13 and the end of that month, Irving and twenty-four other men of letters, practically all of whom Dickens is known to have met during his New York visit, drew up and signed a petition to Congress for an international copyright law. Dickens's first allusion to this petition is in a letter to Forster from New York, dated February 27, 1842: "I have in my portmanteau a petition for an international copyright law, signed by all the best American writers with Washington Irving at their head. They have requested me to hand it to Clay for presentation, and to back it with any remarks I may think proper to offer."<sup>2</sup> After Dickens

<sup>1</sup> The best account of Dickens's activity in America in behalf of international copyright is given in W. G. Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America* (New York, 1911), chap. xiii. This account, however, is incomplete and slightly inaccurate.

For a correction of Wilkins's report of the New York dinner, see the *Knickerbocker*, XIX, 384-385 (April, 1842), and also the *New World*, IV, 158 (March 5, 1842).

For examples of a strong contemporary reaction in America to Dickens's speeches, see the *New World*, IV, 111 (Feb. 12, 1842), IV, 124-125 (Feb. 19, 1842), IV, 157-158 (March 5, 1842); also the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, Feb. 8, 11, 12, and 14, 1842.

Dickens (see Wilkins, *op. cit.*) induced some of the most prominent English authors to write to him praising his work in behalf of international copyright. These documents were published in American newspapers, at Dickens's instigation, as though they had been written to him spontaneously. For a sharp criticism of these papers, see *Niles National Register*, LXII, 388-389 (Aug. 20, 1842); *New World*, V, 112 (Aug. 13, 1842), quoting the *Boston Atlas*; and *Brother Jonathan*, II, 74-75 (May 14, 1842).

<sup>2</sup> *The Nonesuch Dickens: Letters*, ed. Walter Dexter (Bloombsbury: The Nonesuch Press, 1938), I, 390-391.

had arrived in Washington and had conferred with Clay, he again wrote to Forster, this time on March 15, and mentioned two petitions, obviously identical copies:

When Clay retires, as he does this month, Preston will become the leader of the whig party. He so solemnly assures me that the international copyright shall and will be passed, that I almost begin to hope; and I shall be entitled to say, if it be, that I have brought it about. You have no idea how universal the discussion of its merits and demerits has become; or how eager for the change I have made a portion of the people.

. . . . .

One of two petitions for an international copyright which I brought here from American authors, with Irving at their head, has been presented to the house of representatives. Clay retains the other for presentation to the Senate after I have left Washington. The presented one has been referred to a committee; the Speaker has nominated as its chairman Mr. Kennedy, member for Baltimore, who is himself an author and notoriously favourable to such a law; and I am going to assist him in this report. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Through the co-operation of the research staff of the National Archives in Washington, this petition, hitherto unpublished, has been found and a photostatic copy made, including the full list of signatures "with Irving at their head." The signers of the petition, in order, with some identification of those perhaps less familiar, are as follows: Washington Irving, W. A. Duer (president of Columbia College), James Renwick (professor at Columbia College, prominent authority on engineering, and a prolific writer), George Pope Morris, Rufus Dawes, James Fred Otis, William T. Porter (promoter of sporting literature and founder of the *Spirit of the Times*), Colonel William L. Stone (editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, author of *Red Jacket* and other tales), John O. Sargent, David Hale (nephew of Nathan Hale and editor of the New York *Journal of Commerce*), Charles Fenno Hoffman, William Cullen Bryant, James Macfarlane Mathews (first chancellor of the University of the City of New York), Tayler Lewis (professor of Greek at the University of the City of New York), Caleb Sprague Henry (professor at the University of the City of New York, former editor of the *New York Review*, and later political editor of the *New*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

*York Times*); Charles A. Lee (prominent physician as well as an editor and author of medical works), Rufus W. Griswold, August D'Avezac (well-known lawyer and diplomat), John Louis O'Sullivan (member in 1841 of the New York legislature, editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*), H. Hastings Weld, Lewis Gaylord Clark, Epes Sargent (former editor of the New York *Mirror* and later editor of the Boston *Transcript*), Nathaniel P. Willis, Joseph Holt Ingraham (a prolific novelist and faculty member of Jefferson College, Mississippi), and Fitz-Greene Halleck.

Both the style and argument of the petition suggest Dickens to be its author, although there is no conclusive proof. The best evidence of his authorship comes through a comparison of the petition with his speeches on international copyright at Boston and Hartford, and with the last four paragraphs of his article on "Railway Strikes" in *Household Words*, January 11, 1851. There is a distinct similarity of tone and expression, order and movement, between these and the petition; furthermore, the sharp emphasis on injustice to British authors strongly resembles that in his letters to Forster and others on international copyright.

The following is a copy of the unpublished petition that Dickens gave to Henry Clay:

Your memorialists respectfully request that the attention of Congress may be directed to the subject of an international copy-right law. By the recent legislation of the English parliament, the privilege of copy-right is extended only to the citizens of those nations, by which the benefit is reciprocated; so that it is by courtesy alone, and by no legal surety, that American writers can at present derive any advantage from the sale of their works in Great Britain. Your petitioners regard the license of the existing system in this country as fatally subversive of the interests of our youthful literature, and as unjust and ungenerous towards foreign authors. Can it be reasonably expected that our publishers will pay an adequate price for native works, when they can obtain their supply of new books (a supply often far beyond the demand) from English authors *for nothing*? Your petitioners are at a loss to perceive why literary property is not just as much entitled to protection as the productions of manual handicraft or labour. The toil of the author is as exhausting to the physical energies as the toil of the mechanic, and yet the foreign mechanic can transfer the products of his industry to his agent in this country and reap the benefit of their sale, while the foreign



author may see his works pirated and mutilated, and sold for the advantage of another, and be unable to obtain redress. Your petitioners sincerely believe that the proposed change in the copy-right system would not be prejudicial to the interests of any craft or profession in the United States; and even if it were so, they think that the dignity and paramount interests of the country would still imperiously demand that an international copy-right law should be adopted. Your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

February, 1842

The subsequent history of this petition has been a little difficult to trace, for neither the government files nor the Senate and House journals reveal that any report was submitted. The *Niles National Register*, however, records that on May 11, 1842, in the Senate Mr. Preston asked the chairman of the judiciary committee when a report would be made on the copyright law.

The answer of Mr. *Berrien* was not very satisfactory to the friends of the law. He said that the committee were ready to report and had been for more than two months past. They had not reported, however, for the reason that the gentleman who had introduced the bill (Mr. *Clay*) begged that the report might be retained until additional information be laid before the committee. The committee had retained the report for another purpose. They were opposed to the bill.

Mr. *Buchanan* in his seat expressed himself gratified to hear it, and without further remark the subject passed from the senate.<sup>4</sup>

On April 26, a meeting of printers and publishers was held in Boston to "counteract," according to Dickens, "any effect which might be produced by that petition";<sup>5</sup> and a memorial was forwarded to Congress objecting to the passage of an international copyright law and asserting that if "English authors obtain copy-

<sup>4</sup> *Niles National Register*, LXII, 175 (May 14, 1842).

<sup>5</sup> Dickens's letter, published July 16, 1842, in the *Literary Gazette, Examiner*, and elsewhere. Reprinted in *The Nonesuch Dickens: Collected Papers*, ed. A. Waugh, H. Walpole, W. Dexter, and T. Hatton (Bloomsbury: The Nonesuch Press, 1937), I, 142-143. Dickens here expresses disgust with the "existing system of piracy and plunder"; declares that he "will never from this time enter into any negotiations with any person for the transmission, across the Atlantic, of early proofs of anything I may write, and . . . will forego all profit derivable from such a source"; and entreats English writers to deal with respectable American publishing houses rather than those of journalists who "gain a very comfortable living out of the brains of other men, while they would find it very difficult to earn bread by the exercise of their own."

The *New World*, V, 93-94 (Aug. 6, 1842), reprinted and commented caustically on this letter.

rights upon their works here, and our markets are supplied with them, it is apparent that, *having no power to adapt them to our wants, our institutions, and our state of society, we must permit their circulation as they are.*"<sup>6</sup> The loss of this power of censorship and adaptation would, in the opinion of the publishers, be a snake in the American bosom. This memorial, several times the length of the petition just discussed and far more persuasive, concluded with an imposing table of statistics showing the approximate number of employed persons and the amount of invested capital which would be seriously affected by the passage of an international copyright law. Perhaps the petition which Dickens gave to Clay would have fared better had it possessed the more fully developed and the more practical argument of some of the memorials which the businessmen submitted against copyright, such as the foregoing; but in any event the United States did not pass an international copyright law until 1891.

One possible but hitherto neglected explanation for the failure of the petition and of Dickens's efforts in general to secure an international copyright<sup>7</sup> is that his visit in 1842 coincided with a literary craze which was enabling certain unscrupulous journalists to earn a large income.<sup>8</sup> There had been literary piracy in America before, but never on such a sensational scale as roughly from 1839 to 1844, when the "mammoth" papers flourished. Naturally the journalists who had discovered this gold mine and the public who were also profiting thereby would not look too favorably on an international copyright law despite its abstract justice. Even a few signers of Irving's petition seized the opportunity to gain by the absence of such a law and themselves edited these monster papers. Dickens could hardly have chosen a more unfortunate time to plead for copyright.

The *Brother Jonathan*, begun in 1839 by Park Benjamin and Rufus W. Griswold, and edited later by H. Hastings Weld—the latter two both signed the petition—was the first of the mammoths;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Senate Documents* (1841-42), IV, No. 323, p. 3. The italics are mine.

<sup>7</sup> This is not the only explanation, but one that has never been adequately pointed out.

<sup>8</sup> Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York, 1872), p. 589.

<sup>9</sup> My discussion of these is based on the excellent account in Frank Luther Mott's *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 358-363. A predecessor of the mammoths was the *New-Yorker*.

it claimed the dubious honor "of having first introduced into the cash newspapers the custom of reprinting his [Dickens's] novels as they appeared in numbers."<sup>10</sup> Many others soon followed, such as the *New World* in 1840, first edited by Benjamin and Griswold; the *Dollar Magazine* in 1841 and 1842, edited by H. Hastings Weld and N. P. Willis (also a signer of the petition); and the *Boston Notion*, edited in 1841 by Griswold and later by L. F. Tasistro. These papers were huge periodicals, usually weeklies, that relied largely on pirated material for their content and extended in size to as much as "104 square feet of reading matter."<sup>11</sup> Not content with regular issues, their editors printed "extras" containing whole novels in very fine print and selling for as little as ten cents a copy. The piracy of the old, established publishing houses had sometimes been given a half legitimate cast by their occasional payment to a foreign author for "advance sheets" of a forthcoming work; but the strenuous competition of the extras now threatened the very existence of these publishers, and they might indeed have been ruined had not the postal authorities imposed pamphlet rates on the extras in April, 1843, and Canada excluded them by enforcing her copyright law the following July.

The speed with which the "mammoth" editors worked, and the income which they were diverting from the book publishers, to say nothing of the English authors, is suggested by the following announcement in the *New World*:

DICKENS'S AMERICAN NOTES were received by us at eight o'clock on Sunday evening. They make two octavo volumes in the English edition of six hundred pages. We printed them complete in a double extra number of the *New World*, and issued them at one o'clock on Monday—being precisely seventeen hours from the time "the copy was put in hand."

We had the whole city-market, and supplied it as rapidly as a double-cylinder Napier Press could work; printing, in the space of twenty-four hours, more than twenty-four thousand copies.

<sup>10</sup> *Brother Jonathan*, I, 157 (Feb. 5, 1842). A few months later the same paper, II, 212 (June 18, 1842), eagerly anticipated the book that it expected Boz to write about America. The concluding sentences may be interpreted ambiguously: "Write a book! To be sure he will and heartily, right heartily will BROTHER JONATHAN enjoy [pirate?] its pages."

<sup>11</sup> Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 361. The *Boston Notion* (Feb. 29, 1840) published a very amusing article on the *Brother Jonathan*, headed "BATTLE OF THE GIANTS, Or the Struggle for Supremacy. Boston Notion still the largest newspaper in the world!!"

The demand is in fact unprecedented. We expect to sell before the expiration of this month, OUR [*sic*] HUNDRED THOUSAND COPIES. It is almost impossible to supply the orders from the country, so rapidly have they poured in upon us.<sup>12</sup>

Considering that these "extras" of the *American Notes* were advertised at twelve and a half cents a copy, nine copies for one dollar, and eight dollars per hundred,<sup>13</sup> and that other extras were similarly priced, one can understand the protest that would arise from journalists and public in 1842, at the notion of an international copyright law. Naturally, some of the strongest objections came from the mammoths. *Brother Jonathan*,<sup>14</sup> for instance, predicted the dire consequences of passing such a law, but maintained that its own motives in the argument were quite disinterested. The *New World*,<sup>15</sup> on March 5, published five columns of fine print denouncing the proposed international copyright law, and three months later boasted that its cheap extras were forcing the book publishers to print works by American authors. Therefore, in its opinion, an international copyright law was not needed to foster the growth of American literature; and, anyway, such a law had about as much chance of being passed as Joe Smith, "the Mormon high-priest,"<sup>16</sup> had of being elected President.

The curious anomaly in the fact that several signers of Irving's petition were or had been connected with thieving journals deserves some comment. Nathaniel P. Willis may be passed over. From March 16, 1839, to March 7, 1840, he had helped to edit the *Corsair*, which was a vigorous proponent of international copyright, and he had arranged to pay Thackeray a guinea a close column to contribute to the magazine. Furthermore, although he was editing the *Dollar Magazine* in 1842, Professor Mott<sup>17</sup> states that he was only a contributing editor; hence, we may infer he did not take an active part in the pirating. Again, too much significance should not be attached to the fact that for three months in 1840 Charles Fenno Hoffman had been associate editor of the *New-Yorker*. Though this journal, according to Professor Mott, was a forerunner of the mammoths, its piracy was mild compared with theirs, and Hoffman

<sup>12</sup> *New World*, V, 317 (Nov. 12, 1842). The extras were mailed at newspaper rates.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>14</sup> *Brother Jonathan*, I, 440 (April 16, 1842).

<sup>15</sup> *New World*, IV, 172-174 (March 5, 1842).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 366 (June 4, 1842).

<sup>17</sup> Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 360 n. 68.

was an agitator for international copyright.<sup>18</sup> Incidentally, he wrote of having discussed the subject of copyright with Dickens on a steamboat trip, the day before Dickens sailed.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, William T. Porter, H. Hastings Weld, and Rufus W. Griswold may have had something in common with Horace Greeley: however strongly they believed in international copyright in principle, they took good advantage of its absence.<sup>20</sup> Porter had early been connected editorially with the *New-Yorker*, but chiefly he is identified with the *Spirit of the Times*, which was originally "a heavy borrower of British writings."<sup>21</sup> Weld, who Edgar Allan Poe in December, 1841, said was "well known as the present working editor of the New York 'Tattler'"<sup>22</sup> and 'Brother Jonathan,'<sup>23</sup> was editing the *Dollar Magazine* at the time he signed the petition. Moreover, Griswold, after having assisted Greeley with the *New-Yorker*, edited some of the worst of the pirating papers—the *Brother Jonathan*, the *Tattler*, the *New World*, the *Signal*,<sup>24</sup> and the *Boston Notion*. Nevertheless, he is known as an outspoken advocate of international copyright.<sup>25</sup>

The explanation for this apparent contradiction may not be so complex as it seems. Many of the signers of Irving's petition zealously aimed to promote an American national literature. Griswold in particular came to be regarded as "the foremost advocate of 'Americanism' in literature."<sup>26</sup> One might infer, then, that Griswold

<sup>18</sup> Homer F. Barnes, *Charles Fenno Hoffman* (New York, 1930), p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>20</sup> Two editorials strongly supporting Dickens's point of view on copyright appeared in the *New York Tribune*, Feb. 14 and 21, 1842. L. D. Ingersoll, *Life of Horace Greeley* (Chicago, 1873), p. 181, attributes at least the first editorial to Greeley, at that time the *Tribune* editor. If both articles were written by him, as they probably were, he must have been an opportunist of the first water. The *New-Yorker*, edited earlier by Greeley, had published articles in favor of international copyright (VII, 18-19, March 30, 1839; VII, 269, July 13, 1839; VIII, 49-50, Oct. 12, 1839), but had pirated various material, including a selection from *Nicholas Nickleby*. The *Tribune*, both daily and weekly, was "borrowing" in 1842 from *Blackwood's*, the *Foreign Quarterly*, *Fraser's*, and other sources; and in 1857, the *Tribune* was bitterly accused by Harper's of pirating the latter's editions of *The Virginians* and *Little Dorrit*, for which they had paid Thackeray and Dickens respectively two thousand dollars. See J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper* (New York, 1912), pp. 115-117.

<sup>21</sup> Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

<sup>22</sup> A daily issued by the publishers of the *Brother Jonathan*.

<sup>23</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, "A Chapter on Autography," *Works* (New York, 1902), XV, 229.

<sup>24</sup> A daily issued by the publishers of the *New World*.

<sup>25</sup> For example, see his *Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> George H. Genzmer, "Rufus Wilmot Griswold," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII (1932), 11.

was chiefly concerned to protect American writers rather than British, and that he probably had few qualms over his flagrant piracy of British authors.<sup>27</sup> In addition, one might wonder whether Griswold actually expected the petition to be effective and whether he would have signed away his own income if he had so anticipated. The *Brother Jonathan*, for example, in the course of an attack on international copyright, February 19, 1842, ran the following statement:

*We are sorry to see some of the newspapers taking up Mr. Charles Dickens with an unnecessary seriousness, in relation to his suggestions about an international copyright, and his desire that a law should be passed in this country, giving the English Author a property in the copyright of his works in this country. That Mr. D. should entertain such views is perfectly natural, and perfectly proper; and that he may entertain them also without subjecting himself to the charge of sordidness, or improper avarice, we fully believe. . . . That any thing he will say can effect any thing in the premises is not only improbable but impossible. . . .*<sup>28</sup>

A similar criticism of international copyright and defense of Dickens's attitude appeared in the *Dollar Magazine*, edited by Weld, and concluded with these words: "There is little fear, however, that any law like that desired by English writers will ever be passed by our legislators. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

An interesting aftermath of the petition was the complete renunciation a year later by one of the signers of his support of international copyright. The *Democratic Review*, edited by John L. O'Sullivan, had published a eulogy of Dickens in April, 1842, with no reference to copyright. The next February, however, in the *Review*, an extensive onslaught on international copyright began:

The International Copyright so eagerly clamored for is all a humbug. We desire to speak both prudently and politely,—with a due fear of the Lord and Mr. Dickens before our eyes . . . with an unfeigned repentance that we were ourselves once seduced even into signing an International Copyright petition to Congress, before we had matured

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*: ". . . his character is still in disrepute."

<sup>28</sup> *Brother Jonathan*, I, 212 (Feb. 19, 1842). The italics are mine. See also the *New World*, V, 288 (Oct. 29, 1842): "It is a most unpopular measure, and can never be carried." Griswold was not editing either of these papers at the time the statements appeared, but he may well have accepted these views.

<sup>29</sup> *Dollar Magazine*, II, 65 (March, 1842).

that ripper opinion on the subject from which is now indited this solemn act of recantation and disavowal . . . and yet . . . if we may embody the cause and movement of this new literary crusade in the person of its leading champion and representative, we are constrained to say to him, as was once said to his own immortal Pickwick, that though in so many other points of view a most glorious fellow, yet in this particular aspect, *pro tanto* and *quoad hoc*, "Sir, you are a Humbug!"<sup>30</sup>

The long denunciation to which the *Review* proceeded was immediately answered by another signer of the petition, Epes Sargent, in his *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*,<sup>31</sup> wherein he assumed that O'Sullivan was the author of the foregoing article and, without mentioning Dickens, defended the desirability of international copyright.

In conclusion, one may question whether Dickens's intervention, ill-timed as it was, did not, by all the journalistic opposition it aroused, contribute to delay the passage of an international copyright bill rather than to further it. In the *New World*, January 6, 1844, a self-described sympathizer with international copyright made a vitriolic attack on Dickens, in the course of which he addressed him as follows:

. . . you forgot all dignity [in advocating international copyright], lamentably over-estimated your own importance, and overshot the mark of proper conduct. . . . whatever might have been the justice of your cause, you mistook greatly the docility of the American people, in supposing that you could force the matter through by the magic of your personal presence, or exercise a controlling influence in those august bodies as a *legislator*, where it would have accorded better with your previous calling, to have sat in the capacity of a *reporter*. . . .

But your want of delicacy was specially shown in your method to promote the cause of copyright, which was beginning to find many advocates, and to make headway by its own strength, when your arrogant conduct knocked the whole matter, (at least for the present,) in the head.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XII, 115 (Feb., 1843).

<sup>31</sup> *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*, I, 134-137 (March, 1843).

<sup>32</sup> *New World*, VIII, 5-6 (Jan. 6, 1844).

Whatever our conclusions on this point, it is interesting that the journalists did not readily forget what Dickens had tried to do, and two years after his departure, they were crediting his unflattering pictures of America in *Martin Chuzzlewit* to his spleen at not obtaining an international copyright law.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 145 (Feb. 3, 1844): "... we are not surprised to see from the American journals that Mr. Dickens' attacks are treated as the mere ebullitions of spleen consequent upon his want of success in obtaining an international law of copyright: his present writings will certainly not promote that very desirable and important object." The issue of the *New World* containing this unfavorable review of *Martin Chuzzlewit* pirated *A Christmas Carol*.

See also the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XIII, 348 (Oct., 1843); XIV, 342 (April, 1844).



# MARK TWAIN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO JOHN PHOENIX

GLADYS CARMEN BELLAMY  
*The University of Oklahoma*

MARK TWAIN'S affinity with the tribe of humorists known as "literary comedians" may be demonstrated by going through his pages. In them the amusing verbal devices<sup>1</sup> which are the stock-in-trade of "literary comedy," are to be found "in abundance in his earlier works and scattered through his later ones."<sup>2</sup>

It is the purpose of this article to exhibit the influence of the literary comedians upon Mark Twain, with special reference to the work of George Horatio Derby (1823-1861), better known as "John Phoenix," whose sketches began to appear in the newspapers and magazines of California about 1850 and were afterwards collected in two volumes, *Phoenixiana* (1855) and *Squibob Papers* (1859). There has been a conflict of critical opinion as to whether Mark Twain's work derived anything from that of Phoenix. In fact, a regular cycle may be discerned involving this question—the rise, decline, and fall of the idea that John Phoenix influenced Mark Twain.<sup>3</sup>

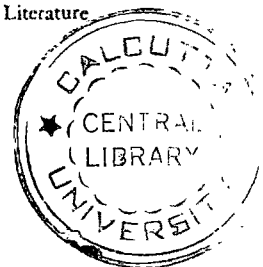
<sup>1</sup> Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature since 1870* (New York, 1915), pp. 28-30. In describing the tricks of "literary comedy," Mr. Pattee enumerates: a solemn protestation of truthfulness, followed by an impossible story; grotesque exaggeration, used deliberately to excite laughter; an irreverence towards everything; the device of euphemistic statement; true "Yankee aphorisms"; and unexpected comparisons and *non sequiturs*.

To these devices may be added: anticlimax, understatement, puns, malapropisms, the incongruous catalogue, burlesques of all kinds, and—in the case of certain humorists—cacography. See Walter Blair, *Native American Humor, 1800-1900* (New York, 1937), pp. 119, 122-124.

<sup>2</sup> Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 148. Mr. Blair illustrates various devices of the literary comedians by presenting a series of comic sentences, taken from a single page of Mark Twain's *A Tramp Abroad*. Mr. Blair points out that these verbal devices, when used at all by the earlier humorists of the South and the Southwest, were employed "rather sparingly" (*ibid.*, p. 118).

Since Franklin J. Meine's edition of *Tall Tales of the Southwest* (New York, 1930) offered a new approach to Mark Twain through Augustus B. Longstreet, William T. Tappan, Sol Smith, Johnson J. Hooper, Joseph G. Baldwin, Joseph M. Field, George W. Harris, Thomas B. Thorpe, Hamilton C. Jones, and others, writers on Mark Twain during the last decade have generally emphasized his connections with these Southern and South-western humorists. See in particular Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), pp. 98, 152, 158, 253-258, 303; and Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-161.

<sup>3</sup> Early writers on American humor linked the names of Phoenix and Twain, apparently as a matter of course. See in this connection E. P. Whipple, "American Literature



Mr. DeVoto is in pronounced disagreement with the view which considers Phoenix in such a light, and expresses himself accordingly: . . . Geography and priority appear to compose the whole case for the professors. . . . It may be that his [Phoenix's] burlesque Fourth of July oration suggested the "Josh" letter to the *Enterprise*. . . . It may be—but permit me to doubt. . . . Phoenix did not invent burlesque for American humor, and all that he has in common with Mark Twain . . . is the writing of burlesque. Burlesque was a fashion and both drew on it freely. *Mark nowhere echoes the phrasing of John Phoenix* and nowhere makes use of Phoenix's point of view. . . . Both found grand opera, legal phraseology, and assemblies of women subjects to their taste—as scores before them had done . . . *the academic are here desired to produce evidence of influence*. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Subsequent writers on Mark Twain have presumably been so overwhelmed by Mr. DeVoto's dictum that they have made no further investigations; in general, they have either failed to take up the question of this particular influence,<sup>5</sup> or they have denied outright that such an influence exists.<sup>6</sup> Yet a recent writer points

in the First Century of the Republic," *Harper's Magazine*, LII, 514-533 (March, 1876), and H. C. Lukens, "American Literary Comedians," *Harper's Magazine*, LXXX, 783-797 (April, 1890). Whipple and Lukens point out that Phoenix and Twain belong in the same class of humorists, but go no further. In 1915 Professor Pattee remarked: "Mark Twain's earliest manner had much in it that smacks of 'Phoenix,'" and mentioned certain chapters of *Phoenixiana* which "might have been taken from *Roughing It*" (Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 31). Yet Professor Pattee was cautious enough to add that such similarities may have come about naturally, from contact with the West.

In 1918, however, Professor Will D. Howe wrote of Derby, or Phoenix: "As a Western humorist . . . he influenced his admirer, Mark Twain," and again spoke of Twain as the "admirer and imitator of Derby and Browne . . ." ("Early Humorists," *Cambridge History of American Literature*, New York, 1918, II, 156-159). Some of the phrasing of the Howe article is used by Professor Hastings in his brief *Syllabus of American Literature* (1923) in a passage which is quoted—with scorn—by Mr. DeVoto (*op. cit.*, p. 219).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 165. Italics are mine.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 160. But elsewhere Mr. Blair goes so far as to say that, while he himself agrees with Mr. DeVoto that "frontier humor is the greatest force in the shaping of his artistry," he feels that Mark's "alliances with other creators of American humor . . . also deserve emphasis" (*ibid.*, p. 162 n.).

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Benson, *Mark Twain's Western Years* (Stanford University Press, 1938). See a passage (pp. 155-156) in which Mr. Benson's very phraseology seems to echo that of Mr. DeVoto: "Twain had one thing in common with Ward . . . John Phoenix, Josh Billings, and . . . Nasby: he was, at the time, chiefly concerned with humorous writing. . . . That any of these writers had any rubber-stamp influence on Twain cannot be admitted when one makes a comparison of their works with the writings of Twain during his Western period." Compare with these lines Mr. DeVoto's statement: "The four humorists whose heir Mr. Hastings considers Mark Twain to have been, had in common with him the intention of producing laughter" (*op. cit.*, p. 219).

to Mark Twain's years in Nevada and on the Pacific coast as his formative period<sup>7</sup>—a period in which he was in daily contact with the “tricks” of the Western comic journalism, of which Phoenix is, perhaps, the chief exponent.

In his biography of John Phoenix, George R. Stewart writes: “. . . A number of parallels may be noted between wordings and incidents in the Phoenix's and Twain's writings. Although these are not very strong or convincing, they nevertheless show the possibility that Phoenix's work was one minor factor in shaping the development of Twain.”<sup>8</sup> In this connection, Mr. Stewart points out that Phoenix's story of the “Eagle Bakery” was “thought by Mark Twain to be good enough for stealing” for use in his “Love's Bakery” sketch, although Mark Twain “merely adapted the story, not the action.”<sup>9</sup> Mr. Stewart also remarks, “The ascent of the Riffelberg (in *A Tramp Abroad*) is suggestive of the *Official Report* in *Phoenixiana*.”<sup>10</sup>

Other comments dealing with the John Phoenix-Mark Twain question have been, usually, incidental remarks with no supporting evidence offered. In spite of long-continued comparisons of the two humorists, no one, it appears, has taken the trouble to investigate the connection between them through a close attention to details and a collation of specific passages from their works. Mr. DeVoto's point that “the academic” should “produce evidence of influence” was well taken.

After disposing of the idea that Phoenix had any influence whatever on Mark Twain, in a discussion of Twain's letters to the Sacramento *Union* Mr. DeVoto remarks: “He writes of astronomy, as Phoenix had, and calls Adah Menken ‘the Great Bear.’”<sup>11</sup> But there is a stronger tie here than a mere writing on the same general subject of astronomy, “as Phoenix had.” In Part II of Phoenix's “Lectures on Astronomy,” written in San Francisco on October 10, 1854, the following lines occur: “‘The Great Bear’ (which is spelled —Bear—and has no reference whatever to Powers' Greek Slave)

<sup>7</sup> Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *John Phoenix, Esq., the Veritable Squibob: A Life of Captain George H. Derby*, U. S. A. (New York, 1937), p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78; see also p. 235, n. 198: “The *Love's Bakery* sketch in the *Jumping Frog* volume . . . definitely echoes the *Eagle Bakery* story.”

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235 n. 198.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 167

is one of the most remarkable constellations in the Heavens."<sup>12</sup> Ten years later, a sketch by Mark Twain, which appeared in the *Californian* on November 19, 1864, under the title "A Full and Reliable Account of the Extraordinary Meteoric Shower of Last Saturday Night," contains these lines: "About this time a magnificent spectacle dazzled my vision—the whole constellation of the Great Menken came flaming out of the heavens. . . . (N. B. I have used the term 'Great Menken' because I regard it as a more modest expression than the 'Great Bear.' . . .)"<sup>13</sup> In view of the fact that there are two other similarities to Phoenix's sketch in this same piece of Mark Twain's, there can be little doubt that Phoenix's reference to the Greek Slave, a nude, in connection with "the Great Bear," suggested Twain's reference to the same constellation as "the Great Menken"—with the implication that the terms are synonymous.<sup>14</sup> The second likeness consists in the fact that in burlesquing scientific papers, both Mark Twain and Phoenix have made use of the name of the same scientist—that of Professor Silliman.<sup>15</sup> There is, however, a third likeness in the same sketch, which is the most striking resemblance of all. Phoenix concludes his "Lectures on Astronomy" with the acknowledgment of "An Astronomical Poem" from a "young observer" with the request that he "introduce" it in his lecture: ". . . but the detestable attempt . . . to make 'slides' rhyme with 'Pleiades' . . . and the fearful pun in the thirty-seventh verse, on 'the Meteor by moonlight alone,'"<sup>16</sup> compel him to decline the introduction. In Mark Twain's "Account of the Meteoric Shower," he relates the following incident: "On my way home, I met young John William Skae—the inimitable punster . . . and I knew from his distraught . . . air that he was building a joke. . . . Said I, 'Are you out looking for meteors, too?' . . . and says he: 'Well, sorter; I'm looking for my Susan—going to meteor by moonlight alone. . . .'"<sup>17</sup> It would seem that this, perhaps, is an "echo of the

<sup>12</sup> *Phoenixiana; or Sketches and Burlesques* (New York, 1856), p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> John Howell (ed.), *Sketches of the Sixties*, by Bret Harte and Mark Twain (San Francisco, 1927), p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. DeVoto has described Adah Menken's appearance in Virginia City, Nevada, in her famous "Mazeppa" act, with "her memorable body bare except for an apologetic shred of gauze" (*op. cit.*, p. 126). Mark Twain was a member of her audience.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Twain wrote his "Account of the Meteoric Shower" in the form of a letter to Professor Silliman, Jr., to be published in the *American Journal of Science*, "for the good of science" (*Sketches of the Sixties*, p. 151; cf. *Phoenixiana*, p. 251; also p. 142).

<sup>16</sup> *Phoenixiana*, p. 252.

<sup>17</sup> *Sketches of the Sixties*, pp. 156-157.

phrasing" of John Phoenix—one of those echoes whose existence Mr. DeVoto denies. And the fact that there are three parallels between a single sketch of Twain's and a single sketch by Phoenix would make mere coincidence seem very doubtful.<sup>18</sup> But evidence of parallels in other sketches must be presented:

In his "Legend of the Tehama House," Phoenix writes of General Brown, a large man of "stern and forbidding aspect . . . with a fierce and uncompromising moustache," who owned a "small . . . dog of the true bull-terrier breed," called "Fan." General Brown retired "with his dog under his arm, swearing he would not part with her for five hundred dollars."<sup>19</sup>

In "Blanketing the Admiral," Mark Twain describes the Admiral as having a face that glowed "through a weather-beaten mask . . . shaggy brows . . . a gnarled crag of a nose. . . . At his heels frisked the darling of his bachelor estate, his terrier 'Fan,' a creature no larger than a squirrel. The main part of his daily life was occupied in looking after 'Fan.'"<sup>20</sup>

The combination of the man with the forbidding aspect and the small extravagantly cherished terrier dog called "Fan," is the same in each sketch; one man is a "General," the other an "Admiral." Surely, there is more than coincidental likeness between the two sketches.

There are striking correspondences elsewhere. The first sketch in *Phoenixiana* is a burlesque on scientific pretensions in general and on scientific expeditions in particular. Phoenix relates, with much scientific unction, the story of a "Military Survey and Reconnaissance of the route from San Francisco to the Mission of Dolores."<sup>21</sup> This sketch should be compared with Mark Twain's "Some Learned Fables for Good Old Boys and Girls," in which he relates "How the Animals of the Wood Sent Out a Scientific Expedition."<sup>22</sup>

#### John Phoenix's Expedition

A footnote explains that Dolores Mission is 2½ miles from the City

#### Mark Twain's Expedition

The "most illustrious scientists" among the animals and insects of

<sup>18</sup> There is a fourth bit of evidence here in the line of associated ideas; there may be an indication that Mark had Phoenix in mind while he was writing this sketch, since in discussing the various problems with which scientific knowledge must cope, he raises the question "as to whether the extraordinary bird called the Phoenix ever existed or not . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 155).

<sup>20</sup> *Roughing It*, chap. lxii.

<sup>19</sup> *Phoenixiana*, pp. 258-269.

<sup>21</sup> *Phoenixiana*, pp. 13-31.

<sup>22</sup> *Sketches New and Old* (Hillcrest Ed.; New York, 1906), pp. 156-189.

Hall of San Francisco. The undertaking is handled as if Dolores Mission were in the wilds of a far, unexplored country. The expedition has many *savans*, each with notebook and pencil; it has also much scientific equipment, such as transit instruments, surveying chains, theodolites, a sidereal clock. Phoenix sets about arriving "at the length of the base line by subsequent triangulation." The result proves that a distance which before had been considered as around ten miles, is three hundred and twenty-four feet; but "there can, of course, be no disputing the elucidations of science, or facts demonstrated by mathematical process, however incredible they may appear *per se*." There is much scientific lore, and scientific names are frequent. The company encamps for the night at the end of Kearney Street; the next morning, a group of "natives" gathers about their camp. These "natives" are of diminutive stature, and are in reality only dirty children, making mud pies. But to Phoenix and his party they are a new race, the zeal for discovery is so much in evidence. The *savans* are "constantly jotting down some object of interest," and one of them records the "natives." Phoenix continues:

"From the notes of Dr. Bigguns [the ethnologist], I transcribe the following description of this deeply interesting people:

the wood make bustling preparations for going forth into the unknown and unexplored world beyond the forest:

"Finally they set off . . . heavily laden with savans, scientific instruments . . . surveying chain . . ." chainbearers, etc. They discover a strange tree: "By triangulation, Lord Long-legs determined its altitude, Herr Spider measured its circumference at the base. . . ." They discover a railroad and call the hard rails "parallels of latitude." When the train rushes by, they decide that it is the "Vernal Equinox"; they know it to be midsummer, but the scientific explanations of Professor Snail are accepted, and due entry is made of the decision. The professors deluge the company with long scientific names meaning nothing. They all camp in a region of "vast caverns of stone," a deserted town, where they find some abandoned wax-works and decide that here is Man himself, "preserved in a fossil state." They make an "official report" of the wax figures, since much time is "given up to writing voluminous accounts" of marvels. Then Professor Woodlouse gets out their ancient records, to consult the description of Man there set down. The Professor reads aloud to the company:

"In ye time of our fathers Man still walked ye earth, as by tradition we know. It was a creature of exceeding great size . . . with a

"Kearney Street native . . . loose skin, sometimes of one color, height, two feet nine inches; hair, sometimes of many, the which it white; complexion, dirt color; eyes, was able to cast at will; . . . It had blue; no front teeth; opal at extremity of nose; dress . . . of a sort of feathers on its head such as hath a rat, but longer. . . . bluish bombazine . . . ornamented When it was stirred with happiness, it leaked water from its eyes. . . . Two Mans being together, erecting small pyramids of dirt they uttered noises . . . like this: and water; . . . religious belief, "Haw-haw-haw—dam good, dam obscure. . . .'" good". . . .'"

Phoenix's explorers find a bottle of whiskey and bring it in as a specimen "of the products of the country." Twain's explorers find a bottle of whiskey, and many of them get drunk; the leaders pour the liquor out, but are careful to retain a bit for experiment and for preservation in the museum. "Slippery Bill," one of Phoenix's trusted chainmen, becomes intoxicated and dances for the amusement of the "natives." The Tumble-Bug is the clown of Mark Twain's piece; it is he who gets drunk first and comes to announce the finding of the whiskey, with many a hiccough.

The frontier humor dealt largely in smells; also in the physiological processes of both men and animals. But Phoenix and Twain strike a note of variation in shrouding the excrement of animals under pseudoscientific terms:

Phoenix finds that Kearney Street "is densely populated and smells of horses. Its surface is intersected with many pools of *sulphuretted protoxide of hydrogen*. . . ."

Mark Twain's expedition finds a "round, flattish mass," an "isoperimental protuberance . . . lamelibranchiate in its formation." The Tumble Bug pronounces it a "rich and noble property," and offers "to manufacture it into spheres of exceeding grace."<sup>23</sup>

Because of "the innumerable villages of pigs" on his line of march, Phoenix suggests that the name of the route be changed from the

<sup>23</sup> Before Mark Twain, Phoenix had turned his attention to the labors of the lowly tumblebug. See his "Patent Attachment for the Alleviation of Tumble Bugs," reproduced in Stewart, *John Phoenix*, p. 189. In Phoenix's drawing, the "emancipated bug" is standing on his head, gleefully kicking his heels in the air. Perhaps there is a suggestion here for Mark Twain's drunken, clowning Tumble-Bug.

"Central Route" to the "*Scentral* Route." In Mark's sketch, "that intolerable stinking scavenger, the Tumble-Bug," is reprimanded because he smells of the stable. Along Kearney Street, Phoenix finds "several specimens of a vegetable substance" which he classifies as "the *stalkus cabbagiensis*"; and the only mention of a vegetable in Twain's sketch is in his comparison of the neck of the whiskey bottle to "a section of a cabbage stalk divided transversely."

Phoenix feels that he and his party must be objects of general interest. He announces that "profiles of himself and two of his officials have been 'executed in black court plaster' and are on display at a business house, where they may be seen for a short time." Twain writes of his expedition: "How the members were banqueted and glorified, and talked about! Everywhere that one of them showed himself, straightway there was a crowd to gape and stare at him."

The general parallelism of these two pieces and the multiple coincidences of detail are surely beyond the possibilities of pure chance. The chief similarity seems to lie in the scientific descriptions of the "natives" of Kearney Street and of the "extinct species, Man," although there is a reversal in idea between the discovery of a "new" race and that of an old, extinct one. Finally, Mark Twain may have derived the whole fantastic idea on which he bases his sketch—that of having the "animals of the wood" set forth as surveyors and engineers—from this same Kearney Street foray; for in Phoenix's sketch the notes of Dr. Dunshunner, the chief geologist, comment on "The beautiful idea, originated by Col. Benton, that buffaloes and other wild animals are the pioneer engineers."

The delicacy of humor concealed in what has been called "the immemorial gesture of derision"—the thumb against the nose and the fingers spread apart—made it a favorite item on the frontier; it was "sure fire." It has been argued, with some justice, that "the world's humor has always dealt grossly with death";<sup>24</sup> nevertheless, the linking of this thumb-to-the-nose motif with the idea of death is decidedly not a commonplace, and here Mark Twain follows Phoenix in a striking innovation. Furthermore, both humorists use this novel combination in hoaxes; for Phoenix, as well as Twain, was an adept in the art of hoaxing the "too credulous reader." Compare this evidence from their pages:

<sup>24</sup> DeVoto, *op. cit.*, p. 153.



"The Death of Squibob"

... I had the mournful satisfaction of being with him in his last moments, and of closing one of his eyes. I say one of his eyes, for the other persisted in remaining partly open, and his ... countenance, even in death, preserves that ineffable wink ... which so eminently characterized him. ... I found him evidently well aware of his approaching end, and calm and resigned. ... He was ... seized with an alarming paroxysm, during which his hands were extended in a right line from the tip of his nose, the fingers separated and "twiddling" in a convulsive manner.<sup>25</sup>

"The Petrified Man"

... The body was in a sitting posture ...; the attitude was pensive, the right thumb resting against the side of the nose; the left thumb partially supported the chin, the forefinger pressing the inner corner of the left eye and drawing it partly open; the right eye was closed, and the fingers of the right hand spread apart [!]. ... The verdict of the jury was that "deceased came to his death from protracted exposure". ...<sup>26</sup>

Squibob is "calm and resigned"; Mark Twain's man is "pensive." Each has one eye "partly open," one eye closed in a wink; and the most noteworthy circumstance is that each meets the moment of death in the ancient attitude which means "sold."<sup>27</sup>

Squibob "passes away," and Phoenix leaves the room for a time; upon his return, he is surprised to find the deceased one sitting up in bed. Squibob speaks: "... By George! I quite forgot my last words—*This is the last of earth!—I still live!!—I WISH THE CONSTITUTION TO BE PRESERVED!!!—HERE'S LUCK!!!!*" Then lying down, and closing one eye he expired—this time "positively without reserve." And the "last words" of poor Squibob appear to have found echoes in at least two sketches by Mark Twain.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Phoenixiana*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>26</sup> First published in the *Territorial Enterprise* of Oct. 5, 1862; reprinted in Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>27</sup> Mr. DeVoto has suggested that Dan De Quille's "solar-armor" story probably produced the "Petrified Man" (*op. cit.*, p. 137). But item for item, Mark's sketch is much closer to that of Phoenix than to De Quille's, which describes a suit of India-rubber, plays upon extremes of heat and cold, and attaches an icicle eighteen inches long to its victim's nose.

<sup>28</sup> In "The Great French Duel," Mark Twain describes the painstaking care with which M. Gambetta makes his choice of "last words" before going out to fight a duel, only to forget them when he is actually on the field of honor (*A Tramp Abroad*, chap. viii). In his little sketch, "Last Words of Great Men," from all the famous "last words"

Readers familiar with Albert Bigelow Paine's biography of Twain will remember the account of the Whittier birthday dinner, an event of the night of December 17, 1877. On this occasion Mark Twain gave a speech in which he burlesqued Emerson, Longfellow, and Holmes, who were all present among the guests. This speech—"the amazing mistake, the bewildering blunder, the cruel catastrophe"—was not in the nature of a triumph for Mark Twain. The diners who sat there were petrified with horror at this sacrilege against the hallowed literary trinity. "It was a fatality," to quote William Dean Howells. "One of those sorrows into which a man walks with his eyes wide open, no one knows why."<sup>29</sup> Although it is still not possible to say "wherefore," it may now be possible to show "wherefrom." For John Phoenix had once published an enlightening critique on a certain poem of Emerson's. The correspondences are easily recognized in what appears below:

## JOHN PHOENIX

The following lines published in the *Atlantic Monthly* by R. W. Emerson, Esq., have attracted much attention . . . from the fact that nobody can understand . . . what the man means:

## BRAHMA

If the red slayer think he slays  
Or if the slain think he is slain,  
They know not well the subtle  
ways

I keep, and pass, and turn again.

The fact is, that Emerson has lately learned the game of Euchre, and being fascinated therewith, wished to express his feelings on

## MARK TWAIN'S SPEECH

" . . . and pretty soon they [Emerson, Longfellow, and Holmes] got out a greasy old deck and went to playing euchre. . . . Mr. Emerson dealt, looked at his hand, shook his head, says—

"'I am the doubter and the doubt'—and calmly bunched the hands and went to shuffling for a new layout. Says he:

"'They reckon ill who leave me out;

They know not well the subtle ways I keep.

I pass and deal *again!*'

Hang'd if he didn't go ahead and do it, too! Oh, he was a cool one!

available Mark selects "I still live" (attributed to Daniel Webster), and follows it with "This is the last of earth" (attributed to John Quincy Adams). And he makes Queen Elizabeth say, "Oh, I would give my kingdom for one moment more—I have forgotten my last words." See *The Curious Republic of Gondour, and Other Whimsical Sketches* (New York, 1919), pp. 132-140. This sketch was first printed in the *Buffalo Express*, Sept. 11, 1869.

<sup>29</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, a Biography: The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens* (New York, 1912), II, 606.

the subject. . . . A little careful . . . I see by Mr. Emerson's eye consideration of the terms used he judged he had 'em. He had convinces one of this at once. This already corralled two tricks. . . . [sic] "the red slayer" refers to the So now he kind of lifts a little in Right Bower (probably the Jack of his chair and . . . down he fetched Hearts); "the slain" is undoubtedly a right bower. . . ."<sup>31</sup> the Left Bower, not guarded, and you perceive that Emerson probably euchered his adversary by "passing," keeping the Ace and some strong cards, and coming again after the Bowers were out. . . . This explanation is made to save Emerson's reputation in the matter. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

Such an oddity as this—the bizarre combination of the transcendental Emerson, the roistering game of euchre, and identical lines from the mystical poem, "Brahma"—is not likely to have been twice assembled, spontaneously, in two separate brains.

And there are various isolated passages in Phoenix which seem to recall correspondences in the work of Twain.<sup>32</sup> Consideration must be given to the well-known "mustard anecdote," which may have been a common story of the time; at any rate, it reached print in the pages of John Phoenix as early as 1855, and bears the stamp of the Phoenix brand of humor. According to Phoenix, Captain B. visited an army camp just as "O. B." was going in to dine at a small pine table on which a servant placed a large tin pan full of boiled rice, and a broken bottle half full of mustard.

<sup>30</sup> First appeared in the *Mobile Register*, Dec. 9, 1857; reprinted in Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191. Professor Stewart calls this "explanation" Phoenix's "last sniping shot at the haziness of the romantics."

<sup>31</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, III, 1645-1646.

<sup>32</sup> For instance, a Californian of Phoenix's acquaintance beseeches the tollgatherers who wish to collect toll from him at the Mission Dolores, "Oh, don't bother me, gentlemen . . . I'm an orphan boy!" (*Phoenixiana*, p. 75). When Mark Twain grows weary of having the "Queen's Chair" pointed out to him in Gibraltar, he pleads with his officious guide: "Sir, I am a helpless orphan in a foreign land. . . . Don't—now *don't* inflict that . . . old legend on me any more today!" (*Innocents Abroad*, chap. vii).

In addition, Phoenix describes the farewell scene as a steamer leaves the dock. He knows none of the passengers, but hates to seem entirely without friends; he shouts "Good bye, Colonel," and "thirty-four respectable gentlemen" take off their hats (*Phoenixiana*, pp. 190-191). Mark Twain has written satirically on the American surplusage of "Colonels" and similar titles, in at least three passages (*Life on the Mississippi*, chap. xlvii, and *The Gilded Age*, chaps. i and v).

... The Captain looked despairingly around—there was nothing else. "Abe," said O. B. . . . "are you fond of boiled rice?" "Well, no," said Abe. . . . "I can't say that I am. . . ." "Ah," replied Lawrence coolly, "*well, just help yourself to the mustard!*"<sup>33</sup>

At a stage-station on the plains Mark Twain was trying to eat a meal of stale bread, condemned army bacon, and "Slumgullion," but he could not. And when he looked at "that melancholy vinegar-cruet," he tells us:

... I thought of the anecdote . . . of the traveler who sat down to a table which had nothing on it but a mackerel and a pot of mustard. He asked the landlord if this was all. The landlord said: "All! . . . I should think there was enough mackerel there for six." "But I don't like mackerel." "Oh—then help yourself to the mustard."<sup>34</sup>

Mark's anecdote is much nearer to the version of Phoenix than to Artemus Ward's "Bakin an Cabbage" story.<sup>35</sup> In Mark's "last hoax" on the reader, a paragraph in "The Double-Barrelled Detective Story," there is found the following line: ". . . far in the empty sky, a solitary oesophagus slept upon motionless wing. . . ."<sup>36</sup> This idea may have been suggested by Phoenix, who quotes lines from Poe's "Al Aaraaf," and then comments: ". . . Observe that note: '*The Albatross is said to sleep on the wing.*' Who said so? I should like to know. Buffon didn't mention it; neither does Audubon. Coleridge, who made the habits of that rare bird a study, never found it out. . . ."<sup>37</sup> Phoenix believes that Poe's sole reason for deceiving the reading public by inventing this fanciful habit for the *albatross*, was that he was faced with the desperate alternative of using *hoss* to rhyme with *toss*. The whimsicality of Phoenix's thought throughout the albatross passage would have appealed immeasurably to Mark Twain. In another whimsical mood, Phoenix once remarked in the pages of the sophisticated *Knickerbocker*, the

<sup>33</sup> *Phoenixiana*, p. 211.

<sup>34</sup> *Roughing It*, chap. iv.

<sup>35</sup> Yet Mr. DeVoto calls Mark's anecdote a "reminiscence of Ward." Incidentally, it should be observed that Mr. DeVoto has misquoted Mark Twain in connection with the mustard story. Mark's meal was not mackerel and mustard, as Mr. DeVoto states (*op. cit.*, p. 220); Mark was only remembering the mustard anecdote.

<sup>36</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, CIV, 264 ff. (Jan., 1902). Collected in *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg and Other Stories and Essays* (New York, 1900).

<sup>37</sup> *Phoenixiana*, p. 76.

*New Yorker* of its day, that Longfellow's recently published *Hia-watha* was a poem "which it strikes me any one might have waited to read, six months at least, and probably longer, with satisfaction and advantage."<sup>38</sup> This pronouncement might have been cut from one piece with Mark Twain's terse comment on Jane Austen: "A very good library may be started just by leaving Jane Austen out of it." And both humorists developed a fellow feeling for King Herod.<sup>39</sup>

As to general similarity in subjects treated by Phoenix and Twain, the list is an extensive one;<sup>40</sup> and there are occasional verbal reminiscences of the earlier humorist scattered through Mark's lines.<sup>41</sup> Parallel uses of the various "devices" of verbal humor might be presented from the works of the two men; but the scope of this

<sup>38</sup> Later collected in the volume, *Squibb Papers*, p. 190; see Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 233.

<sup>39</sup> Phoenix makes moan that the crying of his infant daughter robs him of his nightly rest, and adds, "I begin to adore the memory of Herod, and wish a similar character ruled Mobile . . ." (letter sent from Mobile to Derby's mother, March 15, 1859; see Stewart, *John Phoenix*, p. 192). This recalls Mark's fear that his eldest child might have destroyed a part of his *Mississippi* manuscript, and his anguished cry, "If so, O for the return of the lamented Herod!" See *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York, 1917), I, 241; a letter to Howells, dated Dec. 18, 1874. Since Phoenix's quip on Herod was presumably unpublished in his lifetime or in Twain's there is quite possibly no connection here; on the other hand, such a quip spreads far by word of mouth, and this one might have traveled up and down the river on which Mark Twain was a pilot in this year of 1859. In one passage, Mr. Stewart enters this attractive field of conjecture: ". . . we may recall that Derby frequently traveled between St. Louis and New Orleans by steamer in the late fifties; it would be interesting to know whether Sam Clemens was ever his pilot" (*op. cit.*, p. 199).

<sup>40</sup> Besides the treatment of astronomy, grand opera, legal phraseology, and assemblies of women which Mr. DeVoto has noted (*op. cit.*, pp. 165, 167), both humorists give whimsical discourses on fleas, dentistry, and "spiritual mediums"; and both burlesque dramatic reviews and newspaper correspondence addressed to themselves. Both, also, burlesque bad poetry: compare the poem in which Mr. Mudge laments the death of "Jeames," who was "accidentally shot on the bank of the peacus river" (*Phoenixiana*, p. 131), with Mark Twain's plaintive ballad, "He Done His Level Best" (*Sketches New and Old*, pp. 84-85); in each case the poem is contributed by an admirer of the hero celebrated, with the request that it be printed in the paper. In addition, each humorist tells of his experiences as temporary newspaper editor in the absence of the regular editor; and each describes the lack of enthusiasm for his methods which the editor exhibits on returning (*Phoenixiana*, pp. 93-115; and Twain's "How I Edited an Agricultural Paper," *Sketches New and Old*, p. 307). However, it must be noted that such topics as burlesques of spiritualists, dramatic reviews, and bad poetry are widely used by other humorists than Derby.

<sup>41</sup> For example, Phoenix remarks of a man who has spoken slightly of his literary efforts, "I pity that person, and forgive him." This comment, with variations, became a favorite with Mark Twain for use in like circumstances. And Phoenix's exclamation on taking a drink of bad liquor, "Turpentine and aqua fortis!" is echoed by Mark Twain's "Turpentine, aqua fortis, and brimstone!" on a similar occasion.

discussion permits the use of but one, as an illustration of technique—that of euphemizing a painful truth.<sup>42</sup> One fact, however, should be stressed: it is significant that Twain follows Phoenix in shunning the device of cacography, except on rare occasions, in spite of the fact that this device was inordinately popular among the funny men of the period.<sup>43</sup>

An examination made with regard to dates will show that the passages selected from Twain's work and presented here as suggesting influences from Phoenix, range from the "Petrified Man" story of October 5, 1862, to the "solitary oesophagus" which "slept upon motionless wing" in 1902—representing forty years of Mark Twain's life as an author. That is a long time for an "influence" to persist, however faintly. The records offer evidence that Mark Twain had an opportunity to know of Phoenix in his youth; he speaks directly of the California humorist in his middle life, and again in the reminiscences of his later years.<sup>44</sup>

It is extremely doubtful whether Mark Twain had the slightest sense of guilt in his relationship to John Phoenix. For years he believed himself to be the most original of men, and once denounced plagiarism as "a crime I never have committed in my life."<sup>45</sup> Later, however, he found out that he had stolen, quite unconsciously, the

<sup>42</sup> Phoenix relates that "Joe Bowers the elder," who was "engaged in business as a malefactor," finally "ended his career of usefulness, by falling from a cart in which he had been standing, addressing a numerous audience, and in which fall he unfortunately broke his neck" (*Phoenixiana*, pp. 221-222). The same trick of literary comedy is employed in the passage in which Twain speaks of a man who was hanged as having "received painful injuries which terminated in his death." But, again, it must be stated that such devices are generally used by other humorists than Derby.

<sup>43</sup> For example, Artemus Ward, Petroleum V. Nasby, Bill Arp, and Josh Billings. In the periodicals of San Francisco, however, "... the trend was toward ... a distinctive thing that Bret Harte had and ... that was the very character of Mark Twain. It had flashed out in the Gold Rush with John Phoenix. ... What the San Franciscans discovered was that their western humor need not be illiterate." See G. Ezra Dane (ed.), *Letters from the Sandwich Islands ... by Mark Twain* (Stanford University Press, 1938), Introduction, p. vii.

<sup>44</sup> DeVoto has noted that the May 1, 1852, issue of the *Carpet Bag*, which contained the earliest sketch by Mark Twain that has been discovered—"The Dandy Frightening the Squatter"—contained also a drawing by John Phoenix. If Mark Twain read the *Carpet Bag* around the time when his own sketch appeared in it, he must have known something of the work of Phoenix; Mark was then seventeen years old. In *Roughing It*, published when he was thirty-seven, Mark relates a humorous anecdote of a soldier stationed at Fort Yuma, and remarks that the story has been "attributed to John Phoenix" (chap. lvi). And in the *Autobiography* (I, 25-26), he tells a Phoenix story which was passed on to him by General Grant, and speaks of Phoenix as "a West Point man."

<sup>45</sup> *Letters*, I, 182.

dedication of Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Songs in Many Keys*, and had used it as the dedication for his own *Innocents Abroad*;<sup>46</sup> thereupon, his opinions on plagiarism suffered a sea change. In 1875 he went so far as to write to Howells: "I would not wonder if I am the worst literary thief in the world, without knowing it."

George Horatio Derby died in 1861, at the age of thirty-eight, and "John Phoenix" ceased to exist. There is no intention here to display Mark Twain as rising from the ashes of the Phoenix in the fabulous way of the legend; but enough textual evidence has been presented to show that John Phoenix served Mark Twain well.<sup>47</sup> Certainly, Twain's connections with the Southern and Southwestern humorists should not be minimized;<sup>48</sup> but neither should an attempt be made to narrow his "influences" to that group alone. Mark Twain is a synthesis of American humor. Constance Rourke was near the truth when she said that his "scope was nation-wide, because of the quality of his imagination. . . ."<sup>49</sup> And Mr. DeVoto's statement is at least questionable when he writes of John Phoenix: "His work was somehow amusing . . . but he suggested nothing whatever to Mark Twain."<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Autobiography*, I, 238-242; see also *Letters*, I, 267; II, 732. Evidences of Mark Twain's photographic memory of what he read and his keen retentiveness of what he heard, are to be found elsewhere. The sensitive plates of his mind would have been especially receptive to humorous material, printed or oral, as the field in which he himself was a skilled practitioner.

<sup>47</sup> Mr. Stewart offers as "a good example of that process of folk-lore by which the great grow greater by assuming the exploits of the less," the fact that in 1935 in their book, *I Wish I'd Said That*, Jack Goodman and Albert Rice attribute to Mark Twain a story originated by Phoenix. (See Stewart, *John Phoenix*, p. 203; the story appears in *Phoenixiana*, pp. 113-115.)

<sup>48</sup> In 1915 Mr. Pattee (*op. cit.*, p. 28) ranked Phoenix above Longstreet, Harris, and Baldwin; but present-day critics place the humor of character and environment in which the Longstreet group excelled—"the comedy of background, custom, and character" (Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 62)—on a higher level than the humor of mere verbal devices of which Phoenix was a consummate master.

<sup>49</sup> *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York, 1931), p. 219.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

## POE'S "PALAESTINE"

J. O. BAILEY

*The University of North Carolina*

IT IS GENERALLY recognized that Poe's essay on "Palaestine" is a compilation.<sup>1</sup> But I am not aware that it has been studied to find out what Poe did to his material in compiling it. The essay is drawn chiefly from Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, with perhaps a sentence from the *Britannica*, as the following parallels show. I am quoting the entire essay (with the sentences numbered to indicate their order, for later reference) and the passages from which Poe copied more or less verbatim.

### "Palaestine"<sup>2</sup>

I. PALAESTINE derives its name from the Philistaei, who inhabited the coast of Judaea.

2. It has also been called "The Holy Land," as being the scene of the birth, sufferings, and death of our Redeemer.

### *Cyclopaedia*<sup>3</sup>

It derived its name of Palestine from the Palestines, or Philistines. . . . ("Palestine," XXVII) . . . Philistines, who inhabited the western coasts . . . but it was more commonly called Judaea. . . . ("Canaan," VI)<sup>4</sup>

Christians, as well as Jews, have dignified it with the title of "Holy Land" . . . chiefly because it was the native country of Jesus Christ, and the scene on which he accomplished the great work of our redemption. ("Palestine," XXVII)

<sup>1</sup> See James A. Harrison (ed.), *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1902), "Introduction," XIV, v-vi. "Palacstine" was first published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 152-153 (Feb., 1836).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia* (First American Edition; Philadelphia: Bradford, Murray, Fairman and Co., n. d. [1810-24]).

<sup>4</sup> Rees's *Cyclopaedia* is unpagged. Instead of using footnotes, I am placing in parentheses after each passage a notation to indicate the article from which I took it and the volume containing the article. Sometimes I found one article in the *Cyclopaedia* duplicating another in large measure and verbatim. For instance, the article on "Canaan" has many passages exactly like passages in the article on "Palestine." In such cases, I am citing one place where the passage occurs. When the same passage is in two articles that Poe used, it is impossible to ascertain from which he took it.



3. It was bounded on the north by Syria, on the east by Arabia Deserta, on the south by Arabia Petraea, and on the west by the Mediterranean.

It is bounded by Mount Libanus, which divides it from Syria, on the north; by Mount Hermon, which separates it from Arabia Deserta, on the east; by the mountains of Seir and the deserts of Arabia Petraea, on the south; and by the Mediterranean sea on the west.<sup>5</sup>

4. The principal divisions of the country were Galilea in the north, Samaria in the middle, and Judaea in the south.

5. This country is at present under the Turkish yoke; and the oppression which it now experiences, as well as the visible effects of the divine displeasure, not only during the reign of Titus, and afterwards in the inundations of the northern barbarians, but also of the Saracens and Crusaders, are more than sufficient to have reduced this country, which has been extolled by Moses, and even by Julian the Apostate, for its fecundity, to its present condition of a desert.

. . . Moses has described its fertility and productiveness. . . . The fecundity of Palestine has been extolled even by Julian the Apostate. . . . The visible effects of divine displeasure . . . not only under Titus Vespasian, but much more since that emperor's time, in the inundations of the northern barbarians, of the Saracens, and of the more cruel and destructive Christians, during the holy war, and the oppression it now feels under the Turkish yoke, are causes more than sufficient to have reduced the far greater part of the country into a mere desert. ("Palestine," XXVII)

6. Galilea, the northern division, is divided by Josephus into Upper Galilea, called Galilea of the Gentiles—because inhabited by heathen nations—and Lower Galilea, which was adjacent to the sea of Tiberias, and which contained the tribes of Zebulon and Ashur.

This province was divided into Upper and Lower Galilee. The former . . . was called "Galilee of the Gentiles" . . . because it lay contiguous to the heathen nations. The latter, or Lower Galilee, was so called on account of its situation, being low and flat in comparison of the other.

<sup>5</sup> This information appears in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* in several places, but in various arrangements. Perhaps Poe merely rearranged the information. I found the order of north-east-south-west in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (3d ed.; Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. MacFarquhar, 1797), "Palestine," XIII, 670.

- ... and included the tribes of Asher, Zabulon, Naphtali, and Issachar . . . . ("Galilee," XVI)
7. Galilea was a very populous country, containing, according to Josephus, two hundred and four cities and towns, and paying two hundred talents in tribute. This country was . . . in its flourishing state, so full of towns and villages, that Josephus . . . informs us, the least of them contained 15,000 souls. . . . As the country was very fertile, it was of course very populous. ("Galilee," XVI)
8. The middle district, Samaria, had its origin in a division of the people of Israel into two distinct kingdoms, during the reign of Jeroboam. Its origin was in the time of Rehoboam; under whose reign, a division was made of the people of Israel into two distinct kingdoms. ("Samaritans," XXXII)
9. One of these kingdoms, called Judah, consisted of such as adhered to the house of David, comprising the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin. One of these kingdoms, called Judah, consisted of such as adhered to Rehoboam, and the house of David . . . . ("Samaritans," XXXII)
10. The other ten tribes retained the name of Israelites under Jeroboam. . . . the other retained the ancient name of Israelites, under the command of Jeroboam. ("Samaritans," XXXII)
11. Their capital was Samaria, which also became the name of their country. The capital of the state of these latter was Samaria; and hence it was that they were denominated Samaritans. ("Samaritans," XXXII)
12. The Samaritans and people of Judaea were bitter enemies.
13. The former differed in many respects from the strictness of the Mosaic law.
14. Among the Judaeans, the name of Samaritan was a term of reproach.
15. The southern division, Judaea, did not assume that name until It did not assume the name of Judea, till after the return of the

after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity—though it had been called long before "the kingdom of Judah" in opposition to that of Israel.

16. After the return, the tribe of Judah settled first at Jerusalem; but afterwards spreading over the whole country, gave it the name of "Judaea."

17. The only rivers of any note in Palaestine are the Jordanes, and the Leontes, which latter passes through the northern extremity of Galilea.

18. The Jordan, according to a curious story of Philip the Tetrarch, has its origin in a lake called Phiala, about ten miles north of Caesarea of Samochon.

19. This is said to have been ascertained by throwing into the lake some straw which came out where the river emerges from the ground, after having run fifteen miles beneath the surface of the earth.

20. Mannert, the German, thinks this fabulous, and places the source of the river in Mount Panceas, in the province of Dan.

21. The Jordan holds a south-westerly course—flows through the lake Samochon, or Samochonites, or as it is called in the Bible, Merom; after which, proceeding

Jews from the Babylonish captivity, though it had been denominated, long before, the kingdom of Judah, in opposition to that of Israel. ("Judea," XX)

After their return, this tribe . . . settled first at Jerusalem . . . and then spread through the whole country, so that the name of Jehudah and Jehudim extended itself to all the rest. ("Judea," XX)

Jordan . . . which had its source in the lake of Phiala, about 10 miles N. of that of Samochon; which origin of the river was ascertained by Philip the Tetrarch. . . . ("Jordan," XX)

. . . Philip the Tetrarch who made the experiment of throwing some straw or chaff into the lake, which came out at the Panion, or Paneas, where the river emerges out of the earth, after having run about 120 furlongs under ground. ("Jordan," XX)

The course of the Jordan is mostly southward, bending a few degrees toward the west. . . . it passes through the Samochonite lake. . . . Thence it proceeds still southwest-

onwards till received by the sea of Tiberias, or lake of Genesareth, it emerges from this, and is finally lost in the Dead Sea.

22. In ancient times it overflowed its bank annually, about the period of early harvest; and thus differing from most other rivers, which generally swell in the winter, it was supposed to have a subterraneous communication with the Nile.

23. But now, we can perceive no rise, which is probably owing to the channel having been deepened by the swiftness of the current.

24. The name is supposed to be derived from the Hebrew "Jarden," on account of the river's rapid *descent* through the country.

25. The Dead Sea, called also Asphaltites, from the "asphaltos" or bitumen, which it throws up, is situated in Judaea, and near one hundred miles long and twenty-five broad: but it is called by Tacitus "Lacus immenso ambitu."

26. Its waters are extremely salt; but the vapours exhaled from them are found not to be so pestilential as they have been usually represented.

27. It is supposed that the thirteen cities, of which Sodom and Gomor-

ward through a plain and desert of about 60 miles, and falls into the Asphaltite lake. ("Jordan," XX)

This river, it is said, constantly overflowed its banks about the time of the early harvest, . . . and in this respect differed from other rivers, which commonly swell most during the winter. This inundation has been ascribed to its subterraneous communication with the Nile. ("Jordan," XX)

Modern travellers inform us, that it is no longer subject to these overflowings: because, as they conceive, it has, by the rapidity of its current, worn its channel deeper than formerly. . . . ("Jordan," XX)

Jordan, in Hebrew *Jarden*, is derived from *jerad*, *descendit*, or *jarden*, *descensus*, from its rapid descent through that country. ("Jordan," XX)

ASPHALTITE Lake . . . so called from the great quantity of bitumen, called *asphaltum*, which it produces. It has also been called the Dead Sea. . . . ("Asphaltite Lake," III)

. . . the extreme saltness of the water. . . . but it is not true . . . that its exhalations are pestiferous so as to destroy birds flying over it. ("Asphaltite Lake," III)

Its origin has been ascribed to the submersion of the vale of Siddim,

rah, as mentioned in the Bible, are the chief, were destroyed by a volcano, and once occupied the site of the Dead Sea.

where once stood, according to common report, the three cities which perished, in the miraculous conflagration, with those of Sodom and Gomorrah. . . . Strabo, however, reckoned thirteen of these cities, of which Sodom was the capital; and he adds, that they were overthrown by a violent earthquake occasioned by subterraneous fire. . . . ("Asphaltite Lake," III)

28. Earthquakes are now frequent in the country.

29. Volumes of smoke are observed to issue from the lake, and new crevices are daily found on its margin.

. . . columns of smoke . . . are now and then observed to arise from the lake. ("Asphaltite Lake," III)

30. The country is mountainous.

31. The range of Libanus, so named on account of their snowy summits, from the Hebrew "Lebanon," *white*, is imperfectly defined.

. . . Libanus . . . takes its name, as some say from the Hebrew *laban*, on account of the whiteness of its summits. . . . ("Lebanon," XXI)

32. The principal part of them lies towards the north of Galilea, but the name of Libanus is sometimes given to several chains, which run through the whole extent of Palaestine.

33. Between two of these ranges lay a valley so beautiful that some have called it a terrestrial Paradise; though situated in a much higher region than the greater part of the country, it enjoys perpetual spring—the trees are always green, and the orchards full of fruit.

34. Libanus has been famed for its cedars.

35. Mount Carmel is a celebrated mountain, properly belonging to Samaria, but on which the Syrians had an altar, *but not a temple*, dedicated to their god Carmelus. CARMELUS . . . a deity of the Syrians, who inhabited the vicinity of mount Carmel. He had an altar, but no temple. ("Carmelus," VII)
36. A priest of this deity, according to Tacitus, (Lib. 2, cap. 78,) foretold the accession of Vespasian to the throne. Tacitus (Hist. II, 78) says, that a priest of this deity predicted to Vespasian that he should be emperor. ("Carmelus," VII)
37. The principal towns in Galilea were Dio-Caesarea, Jotapata or Gath, Genesareth, and Tiberias.
38. Tiberias was built by Herod, near the lake of the same name, and called after the emperor.
39. After the taking of Jerusalem, there was at Tiberias a succession of Hebrew judges, till about the time of the abdication of Diocletian and Maximianus. . . . after the taking of Jerusalem, there was at Tiberias a succession of Hebrew judges and doctors till the fourth century. ("Tiberias," XXXVII)
40. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, says that a Hebrew copy of St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles, was kept in this city. Epiphanius says that a Hebrew translation of St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles, was kept in this city. ("Tiberias," XXXVII)  
Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis. . . . ("Epiphanius," XIV)
41. The chief cities of Samaria were Neapolis, Antipatris, Archelais, Apollonia, Samaria, and Caesarea.
42. Caesarea was the principal, and was anciently called "Turris Stratonis." . . . *Caesarea-Stratonis*, or the town of Strato, was the metropolis of Palestine. . . . ("Caesarea," VI)
43. It was much embellished by Herod, who named it Caesarea in honour of Augustus—and was the station of the Roman governors. . . . Herod the Great built on the site of it a large city, with many stately marble buildings, a theatre of stone, a capacious amphitheatre, and an admirable haven, with marble edifices and towers. . . .

Herod, according to Josephus, called the . . . city Caesarea, in honour of Caesar Augustus. . . . ("Caesarea," VI)

44. Samaria was situated on Mount Sameron, and was the residence of the kings of Israel, from the time of Omri, its founder, to the overthrow of the kingdom.

SAMARIA, . . . a country and town of Judea. The town was situated on Mount Sameron . . . and was the residence of all the kings of Israel from Omri, its founder, until the overthrow of the kingdom. ("Samaria," XXXII)

45. In Judaea, were the cities of Engedi, Herodium, Hebron, Beersheba, Jericho, and Jerusalem.

46. Jericho was in the tribe of Benjamin, near the river Jordan; and is called by Moses the city of palm-trees, from the palms in the adjacent plain, which are also noticed by Tacitus.

JERICO . . . in the tribe of Benjamin, about six miles W. from Jordan. . . . It was situated in a spacious plain, producing all sorts of fruits, especially palm-trees, whence it was called "the city of palm-trees." ("Jericho," XIX)

47. It was destroyed by Joshua, but afterwards rebuilt.

Jericho was the first city in Canaan taken by Joshua, (Josh. ii, 1, 2, &c.) in the year 1469 B. C., and burnt by special order. About 537 years afterwards, Hiel of Bethel undertook to rebuild it. . . . ("Jericho," XIX)

48. Jerusalem, the capital, was anciently called Salem, or Jebus, by the Jebusites, who were in possession of it till the time of David; but it was then called by the Hebrews Jeruschalaim, signifying "the possession of the inheritance of peace."

JERUSALEM, derived from [Hebrew characters], *to see*, and [Hebrew characters], *peace*, . . . the vision or inheritance of peace. . . is supposed . . . to have been built on the scite [*sic*] of Melchizedek's *Salem*, and hence called "Salem" and "Solyma." . . . The ancient city Jebus, which David took from the Jebusites, was not large. . . . ("Jerusalem," XIX)

49. The Greeks and Romans called it by the name of Hierosolyma.

50. It was built on several hills, of which Mount Sion, in the southern part of the city, was the largest.

51. To the north was Acra, called the "second," or "lower city"—on the east of which was Solomon's temple, built on Mount Moriah.

52. North-east of this was the Mount of Olives, and north of it Mount Calvary, the place of the crucifixion.

53. This city was taken by Pompey, who thence derived his name of Hierosolymarius.

54. It was also taken and destroyed by Titus, (in the year of our Lord 71, by the account of Tacitus—but according to Josephus,) on the 8th of Sept. A. D. 70—2177 years after its foundation.

55. In this siege 110,000 persons are said to have perished, and 97,000 to have been made prisoners, and as Josephus relates, sold as slaves, or thrown to the wild beasts for the sport of the conquerors.

Jerusalem was founded upon hills, and surrounded by mountains: the two largest hills were Zion and Acra . . . . ("Jerusalem," XIX)

Acra . . . stood to the north. . . . the lower city stood upon Acra. . . . and "Mount Moriah," on which appeared the celebrated temple of Solomon. . . . ("Jerusalem," XIX)

Pompey, having subdued Syria, laid siege to Jerusalem, and made Judea tributary to the Roman empire. ("Jerusalem," XIX)

. . . on the 8th day of September, A. D. 70, the city of Jerusalem fell into the hands of Titus. It was then given up to be plundered by the soldiers, and most of its inhabitants were put to the sword. ("Jerusalem," XIX)

According to Josephus, . . . the number of prisoners taken during the whole war was 97,000, and that the number of those who perished in the siege amounted to 1,100,000 [*sic*] . . . . ("Jerusalem," XIX)

This compilation, considered as a phenomenon for analysis,<sup>6</sup> may throw some light upon the mind of Poe. In his introduction to this essay (and others), Professor Harrison writes: "Its character

<sup>6</sup> Of course it is plagiarism by a hard-pressed journalist who was also the foremost avowed enemy of plagiarism in American letters. But perhaps enough has been said about Poe's plagiarism.



is of a kind in which Poe rarely indulged—the compilatory. . . . Perfunctory work of this sort was not to his liking. . . . Yet, distasteful as mere compilation was to Poe, he always contrived to invest his compilations with the singular charm of his style, so cameo-clear in its distinction and so absolutely free from the verbal ambiguities for which he did not hesitate to rate even Macaulay." Apparently Professor Harrison did not submit the style to analysis, to see how much of its "singular charm" belongs to Poe; he found it free from ambiguities, but he did not observe how much of it was fact (following the *Cyclopaedia*) and how much fancy—in both senses of the word.

In the first place, the essay is not straight copy from a single source, but a compilation from at least fifteen articles in the *Cyclopaedia*—"Palestine," "Canaan," "Galilee," "Samaritans," "Judea," "Jordan," "Asphaltite Lake," "Lebanon," "Carmelus," "Tiberias," "Epiphanius," "Caesarea," "Samaria," "Jericho," and "Jerusalem"—and apparently he consulted the map of Palestine in a separate volume of the *Cyclopaedia*.<sup>7</sup> He selected a few sentences from each article, not enough from each to make identification likely, and he added something of his own. Consideration of what he selected and what he added may reveal his principles of selection and some purpose in his additions.

It is worth note that Poe rejected the spellings of the *Cyclopaedia*, even when he copied the phrasing verbatim. For *Palestine*, he wrote *Palaestine*; for *Philistines*, *Philistaei*; for *Judea* (sometimes *Judaea*), *Judaea*; for *Galilee*, *Galilea*; for *Zabulon*, *Zebulon*; for *Asher*, *Ashur*; for *Jordan*, once *Jordanes*; for *asphaltum*, *asphaltos*; for the Hebrew *laban*, *Lebanon*; for *Stratonis*, or the town of *Strato*, *Turris Stratonis*; for *Zion*, *Sion*; and for the Hebrew characters, the word *Jeruschalaim*. These spellings indicate, for one thing, that Poe pored over the map as he wrote, for the map of Palestine in the *Cyclopaedia* gives Latin spellings for all places. Poe chose these spellings, for his phrasal sources Anglicized them. We may surmise his choice of Latin, or archaic-looking spellings, to rest upon first, his desire to make the essay look learned, and second, his sense of the greater mystery and romance of the unfamiliar word. It is the principle, perhaps, that lies behind his choice of *Aidenn* for *Eden*.

<sup>7</sup> A volume called "Plates 6. Atlas." See Plate 22, "Judaea."

Poe's fondness for the sounds of names of persons and places is also revealed. For *the Samochonite lake*, Poe writes *lake Samochon, or Samochonites, or as it is called in the Bible, Merom*;<sup>8</sup> he adds to a sentence *the sea of Tiberias, or lake of Genesareth*; he adds to a sentence about the Dead Sea, *called by Tacitus "Lacus immenso ambitu"*; for *the fourth century*, he writes *time of the abdication of Diocletian and Maximianus*;<sup>9</sup> for *Epiphanius* he apparently looks up another article in order to add *bishop of Salamis*; concerning Jerusalem he adds to his source, apparently from the map, the Latin name *Hierosolyma*. Poe seems fond of these names for their sounds and suggestions. The substance of his essay does not require them.<sup>10</sup>

A visual as well as an auditory principle seems involved. I surmise that he got the Latin names from consulting the maps. I have not found the sentence (No. 4) giving the principal divisions of the country phrased as Poe phrased it in any article consulted. But the map shows the divisions very plainly and, reading from top to bottom, in the order Poe named them. I found no parallel phrasing for the sentence (No. 30) stating that the country is mountainous, or for that (No. 32) describing the range of Libanus; the map shows mountains and the range just as Poe describes them. I found the articles full of names of cities, but no lists arranged in Poe's order. Poe's lists of cities for Galilee, Samaria, and Judea (Nos. 37, 41, and 45) could have been taken from the map, with some additions, perhaps, from the articles. Though it seems Poe did not digest information about Palestine thoroughly enough to write the essay without phrasal copying, apparently he did pore over the map.

And Poe's work was not all phrasal copying; there was enough digestion for occasional condensation. Three paragraphs (in "Samaritans," XXXII) describe the "hatred and animosity" between Samaritans and Judeans; Poe reduces the passage to one sentence that he apparently phrases himself (No. 12). "Lebanon" (XXI) describes the fertility of the valley and the cedars of the mountains in a number of paragraphs; Poe writes his longest original sentence (No. 33) about the beauty and fruitfulness of the valley, and follows it

<sup>8</sup> Joshua 11: 5.

<sup>9</sup> Diocletian and Maximianus abdicated on May 1, A. D. 305.

<sup>10</sup> Curiously, Poe rejected *Asphaltite Lake* in favor of *Dead Sea*. Perhaps the latter seemed more concretely to suggest the desolation he emphasized.

with a short statement (No. 34) about the cedars. "Tiberias" (XXXVII) speaks of Herod, and Poe reduces the information to an original sentence (No. 38). These sentences indicate no contribution: Poe was simply condensing.

His contributions are scraps of odd information that, if they are really without a source in which Poe looked them up, may indicate some of the flotsam of his mind: scraps from history, the Bible, and Latin literature. The article on "Galilee" (XVI) cites Josephus as saying that the smallest town of Galilee contained fifteen thousand souls. Poe substitutes the statement that there were "two hundred and four cities and towns, paying two hundred talents in tribute" (No. 7). He defined the House of David as "comprising the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin" (No. 9); he inserted the information that Lake Samochon is "called in the Bible, Merom" (No. 21), and that the Dead Sea is "called by Tacitus 'Lacus immenso ambitu'" (No. 25).<sup>11</sup> He added the note that Caesarea was the "station of the Roman governors" (No. 43) and that Tacitus mentions the palm trees of Jericho (No. 46). He added, perhaps from the map, an item not in the article on "Jerusalem" (XIX), that the Greeks and Romans called the city Hierosolyma (No. 49). He located the Mount of Olives and Calvary (No. 52) without verbatim quotation. To the sentence stating that Pompey laid siege to Jerusalem, Poe added that Pompey "thence derived his name of Hierosolymarius" (No. 53). And the essay comes to its climax with Poe's contribution that the prisoners taken by Pompey were to be "sold as slaves, or thrown to the wild beasts for the sport of the conquerors" (No. 55).

That Pompey was called Hierosolymarius is a rather obscure fact, not in the article on "Pompey" in the *Cyclopaedia*. As Poe stated it, it carries the suggestion that Pompey was best known for his capture of Jerusalem. One of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* (II, ix, 1), indeed, speaks of Pompey as Hierosolymarius—though in the context it is not a term of praise, but one that might roughly correspond to "that Jew-beater."<sup>12</sup> The references to Tacitus suggest erudition, until one finds that the two separated items Poe contributed from Tacitus are taken from the same place, the *Historiarum*, Book V, Chapter VI. These additions to material that Poe was otherwise

<sup>11</sup> *Historiarum*, V, vi, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Professor G. A. Harrer of the Classics Department of the University of North Carolina offers this opinion.

copying suggest, then, both the limited area of Poe's knowledge and his tendency to add to his compilation odd or picturesque facts that came to mind.

Poe made contributions of another kind, contradictions of material in the articles he was consulting. He says that the Samaritans did not observe the Mosaic law as strictly as the people of Judea (No. 13), and that "Among the Judaeans, the name of Samaritan was a term of reproach" (No. 14). The ideas may have come from the article on "Samaritans" (XXXII), but Poe turned them upside down. Even the Jewish doctors, says the article, admit that the Samaritans "observe the law of Moses more rigidly than the Jews themselves." And, says the article, the Samaritans sometimes disowned the Jews and "alleged that they were Phoenicians originally." Poe's "corrections" of his sources seem deliberate, perhaps based upon the suggestion of Jewish hostility to Samaritans in the New Testament. Poe even "corrected" the translation of the Hebrew characters from "the vision or inheritance of peace" to "the possession of the inheritance of peace" (No. 48).

Concerning earthquakes around the Dead Sea, Poe contributed that earthquakes are now frequent and that "new crevices are daily found on its margin" (Nos. 28 and 29). The article ("Asphaltite Lake," III) speaks of earthquakes in conjecturing the origin of the lake, and then of present eruptions of bitumen. It does not discuss recent earthquakes and crevices caused by them. In describing the fall of Jerusalem, Poe adds that it fell 2,177 years after its foundation (No. 54). The *Cyclopaedia* is uncertain about when Jerusalem was founded, as it was the ancient city of Jebus before the Jews arrived. Poe copies the sentence describing the number of persons who perished at the siege of Jerusalem, but where the article ("Jerusalem," XIX) says 1,100,000, Poe says 110,000. The *Cyclopaedia* was following Josephus,<sup>13</sup> who says eleven hundred thousand. Apparently Poe either made an error in copying and left off a zero, or he supposed the figure was an exaggeration<sup>14</sup> and cut it to one tenth (No. 55). Another error occurs in Poe's quotation from Tacitus.

<sup>13</sup> Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Book VI, chap. ix, as in Whitson and Shilleto, *The Works of Flavius Josephus* (London: George Bell, 1903), p. 121.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* Josephus points out that Jerusalem fell during a festival season, when the normal population was greatly augmented.

Poe must have looked up the phrase *Lacus immenso ambitu*,<sup>15</sup> for he capitalizes *Lacus*—beginning Tacitus's sentence—but he spells *immenso* for *immenso*.

Poe's most curious contradiction of his source, however, reveals an evident desire to appear learned. In 1825 Konrad Mannert completed publication in German of a ten-volume geography of Greek and Roman lands.<sup>16</sup> As it is not available to me, I do not know what is in it, but Poe's offhand reference credits Mannert with an absurd theory. Poe says: "Mannert, the German, thinks this [that the Jordan originates in Lake Phiala] is fabulous, and places the source of the river in Mount Panceas, in the province of Dan" (No. 20). There was no "province" of Dan. The tribe of Dan lived in the south of Palestine, a long way from the source of the Jordan. Near the source of the Jordan, at the foot of Mount Libanus, was the *city* of Dan. Either this city, or another city four miles away, when captured by the Romans was given the name Panceas—not Panceas. The source of the Jordan was near this place. This information is given in the *Cyclopaedia*.<sup>17</sup> Poe's sentence apparently intends learnedly to contradict the *Cyclopaedia*, but seems only to get the data of the *Cyclopaedia* confused and misspelled.

These departures from his basic source reveal, perhaps, the principle that Poe was less governed by the desire for accuracy (which he pretends is his chief concern) than by an attraction to the bizarre. This supposition is borne out by the most curious source I found. Poe was discussing mountains, and after Libanus, he turned to look up Carmel. But apparently his attention was caught by an article following "Carmel," "Carmelus" (VII), describing a deity of the Syrians. Poe copied nothing from the article "Carmel," but copied two sentences (Nos. 35 and 36) from the article on "Carmelus"—about the purely extraneous matter of the Syrian deity. The article says this deity "had an altar, but no temple." Poe said, ". . . the Syrians had an altar, *but not a temple*," italicizing "*but not a temple*"—the only phrase italicized for emphasis in the entire essay. Though the information is irrelevant and esoteric, Poe writes as if he is authoritatively contradicting a widespread misconception.

<sup>15</sup> See note 11.

<sup>16</sup> Apparently Poe has reference to *Geographie der Griechen und Römer* (Nürnberg: Grattenauer, 1788-1825).

<sup>17</sup> See "Jordan," XX, and "Dan," XI.

This attraction to the bizarre is manifest in his archaic spellings, in his love for rolling names, in his study of the map of Judea, in his impatience with details that led him to rapid summary in dramatic sentences, in his contributions of odd bits of information, in his contradictions where the facts of his source did not fit his preconceptions, and, finally, in his brushing aside Mount Carmel when he finds the Syrian god Carmelus more romantic.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### DR. HOLMES ADVISES YOUNG IGNATIUS DONNELLY

JOHN T. FLANAGAN  
*University of Minnesota*

THE NAME of Ignatius Donnelly (1831-1901) is remembered today chiefly for two reasons: his long and variegated political career at the end of which he attempted to marshal the Populists into a major party, and his persistent championing of Francis Bacon as the real author of the Shakespearian plays. After serving three terms as a Minnesota member of the House of Representatives, Donnelly became successively a Liberal Republican, a Granger, a Greenbacker, and a Populist, the climax of his career as an unsuccessful politician probably being reached when he was defeated in 1892 as a Populist candidate for the governorship of Minnesota. A fluent writer and a brilliant speaker, Donnelly commonly retired to his home at Nininger after the loss of a political battle to relieve his feelings by the composition of novels and tracts.<sup>1</sup> It is not generally known, however, that his first published book was a volume of poems.

Early in 1849 Donnelly, then a young Philadelphia schoolboy, sent the manuscript of some verses to Oliver Wendell Holmes for criticism. Unlike many celebrities who are besieged for advice by literary neophytes, the Autocrat read the poetry, apparently saw the flicker of genius beneath the florid rhetoric, and took the trouble to write his young correspondent a long letter of counsel. This letter, revealing all the kindly, genial, but trenchant wit which made Holmes famous, is printed below.<sup>2</sup> Donnelly benefited little by the admonitions, since *The Mourner's Vision: A Poem* appeared in 1850 in Philadelphia and contained eighty pages of very conventional verse; but he did not publish any poetic sequels.

PITTSFIELD MASS. July 30th 1849

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter and poem have taken something of a circuit before reaching me, and as I have been much engaged for the last few days in arranging various matters about my country residence, I

<sup>1</sup> Donnelly's chief books were *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* (1882); his exposition of the Baconian theory, *The Great Cryptogram* (1888); and his utopian novel, *Caesar's Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century* (1891).

<sup>2</sup> The original letter is in the possession of the widow of Ignatius Donnelly, Mrs. Henry L. Woltman, of St. Paul.

have trusted to your patience a little longer than I intended. A very young man like yourself thinks a great deal more of asking a little literary counsel from an unknown friend than he would do some years later in life. It is no unusual thing, and certainly very becoming to submit one's early productions to the judgment of some person supposed to be competent—I am sure if I had done so at your age I should have learned in good season some things I had to wait for till experience taught them in a less agreeable way.

I will give you then a little of the advice which you have courted, with a free tongue but a kind spirit. You have the inward adjustments which naturally produce melody of expression and incline you to rhythmical forms, of which you will easily become master. You are a bright scholar, who has read a good many books and perhaps have a little too much fondness for ornamenting your own composition with phrases borrowed from what you read—very fairly credited to their sources to be true, but perhaps a little too freely interspersed. You have a quick eye and a smart wit of your own—dangerous gifts, which, like young colts must be bitted and broken before they can become trusty servants. Whether you have the higher requisites which make up the true poetical character or not, I dare not undertake to decide on the strength of a school exercise.

But one thing is certain, that your well turned verse stands in need of pruning and chastening; that you have not exactly seized the point of difference between satire and harshness in some instances [*sic*] and that you deal in phrases and sometimes in imagery which to ears polite will sound coarsely and turn away certain fastidious readers.

Seventeen years old! What a blessed reach of futurity lies before you, with talents and ambition to urge them on to excellence! But remember that you are in your pupilage now, and that what you write as a boy will be judged of by the public without those allowances which friends and a limited circle of acquaintances know how to make.

No judicious friend would advise you to print this gay production of your boyhood, or youth, if you choose to call it so. The title and subject might do well enough for a school recitation but are too trivial for a printed poem of such length. There are many



expressions and ideas as I have hinted objectionable in point of taste; I will barely allude to the possibility of your being suspected of *double entendres* such as occur at the close of one [of] the Cantos (I think) of the Rape of the Lock—a suspicion which was evidently not in your thoughts when you was [*sic*] writing.

A young man who is in a hurry to print his first verses generally falls into the hands of the Editors of Weekly Newspapers, Annuals and such trash, who skin him, eviscerate him, scoop the marrow out of his young bones and leave him at the end of a few years or less time in a state worse than *tabes dorsalis*. In the meantime he is etherised into stupid beatitude by that meanest of all stimulants and narcotics—the flattery of inferior minds—the praise of imbeciles—the well meant cajoleries of silly friends—or the eulogies of those who use him and often pay him in no more solid coin than words.

No Sir, I hope you are man enough to know that if at your age you have done well, in a few years you can do much better; that study, reflection, the natural ripening of the crude juices will do for you what they have done for all the great minds that have borne fruit worth the gathering.—Be patient—do not listen to partial friends,—choose subjects worthy of sincere effort, whether grave or gay,—[*and deleted*] subdue the rank luxuriance of your fancy and language by studying the pure models and by and by we shall hear of Ignatius L. Donnelly.<sup>3</sup>

Believe me

Yours very truly

O. W. HOLMES

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#### FRANK NORRIS ON REALISM AND NATURALISM

CHARLES CHILD WALCUTT

*The University of Oklahoma*

IN AN ARTICLE in the May, 1940, issue of *American Literature*, "Norris Explains *The Octopus*: A Correlation of His Theory and Practice," Mr. H. Willard Reninger argues that *The Octopus* has a consistent philosophical basis and is, structurally, an ideal ex-

<sup>3</sup> The reader is referred to other examples of Holmes's literary advice to aspiring authors, notably his poem "A Familiar Letter" and his letter to Thomas Bailey Aldrich written shortly after the publication of the 1863 edition of Aldrich's collected poems (Ferris Greenslet, *Thomas Bailey Aldrich*, Boston and New York, 1928, pp. 64-65). The letter to Aldrich, although written fourteen years later, gives substantially the same advice that Holmes had previously sent to Donnelly.

emplification of a significant theory of the novel expressed in *The Responsibilities of the Novelist*. He implies that Granville Hicks, Walter Fuller Taylor, Howard M. Jones, E. E. Leisy, and I, who have doubted the philosophical consistency of Norris's stories, cannot have read *The Responsibilities of the Novelist*—or we should have recognized the successful application of its theory in *The Octopus*.

Without attempting here to discuss in detail the relation between Norris's novels, his theory of the novel, and his philosophical ideas, I must call to the attention of readers of *American Literature* certain misquotations and misstatements in Mr. Reninger's article which cast more than a little doubt upon his conclusions.

Mr. Reninger asserts that "A thorough reading of *The Responsibilities* will reveal that Norris was actually attacking 'that harsh, loveless, colorless, blunt tool' called naturalism";<sup>1</sup> and, again, "With such a concept of romantic-reality Norris dismissed . . . 'that harsh, loveless, colorless, blunt tool' of naturalism."<sup>2</sup> My copy of *The Responsibilities* reads: "Why should it be that so soon as the novelist addresses himself—seriously—to the consideration of contemporary life he must abandon Romance and take up that harsh, loveless, colourless, blunt tool called REALISM?"<sup>3</sup> On the next page Norris remarks that "Zola has been dubbed a Realist, but he is, on the contrary, the very head of the Romanticists."<sup>4</sup> This does not sound like an attack on naturalism. On the same page he writes: "The reason why one claims so much for Romance, and quarrels so pointedly with Realism, is that Realism stultifies itself. It notes only the surface of things. . . . Realism is minute; it is the drama of a broken teacup, the tragedy of a walk down the block, the excitement of an afternoon call, the adventure of an invitation to dinner."<sup>5</sup> The context shows clearly that Norris dislikes not the romantic exuberance of Zola but the bland realism of Howells. Furthermore, despite Mr. Reninger's statement that "during the last four years of his life Norris was definitely leaving the pessimistic naturalism of Zola and was turning to a theory and practice of his own,"<sup>6</sup> he wrote to a friend, while at work on *The Octopus*: "I am going back definitely now to the style of MacT. [*McTeague*] and stay with it

<sup>1</sup> *American Literature*, XII, 219.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> New York, 1903, p. 214. Capitals mine.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*. This passage comes after a reference to Howells, who he says is "respectable as a church."

<sup>6</sup> Reninger, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

right along. I've been sort of feeling my way ever since the 'Moran' days and getting a twist of myself. Now I think I know where I am at and what game I play the best. The Wheat series will be straight naturalism with all the guts I can get into it."<sup>7</sup> And a letter to Marcossion on June 9, 1901, written in the first flush of enthusiasm over the success of *The Octopus*, is signed "F. N. (The Boy-Zola)."<sup>8</sup>

Norris obviously did not believe that his theory of the novel was incompatible with naturalism. But even so, the relation of theory and practice in his work is to be determined not by a study of his own critical *dicta*—for authors have been notoriously prone to rationalize their works into a theoretical consistency—but by careful analysis of his novels in relation to the ideas which they pretend to express and to which they attempt to give significant form.

Indeed, this issue goes beyond Norris, for the same problem arises with a dozen other novelists writing between 1890 and 1910, who either were unable to choose between moral responsibility and scientific determinism—or who, choosing the latter, were unable to rid themselves of the former—and so wrote novels containing both sets of values. Attending this change from one philosophy to another there has been a revolution in the structure of the modern novel, a revolution which is not complete because the feeling for moral responsibility lingers in a hundred corners of the life of the most determined determinist. It is therefore of the utmost importance to the study of the modern novel that these charges against Norris be explained in some detail. I intend to do so at some time in the future.

#### ANNE BRADSTREET IN ENGLAND: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

J. KESTER SVENDSEN

*The University of Oklahoma*

IT HAS LONG been noted that the earliest posthumous mention of Anne Bradstreet's poetry occurs in Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* in 1674.<sup>1</sup> There has been some complaint also of

<sup>7</sup> From a letter to Isaac Marcossion; see *Adventures in Interviewing* (2d ed.; New York, 1923), pp. 237-238. This letter was written in November, 1899, three years before Norris's death and about six months before the publication of *The Octopus*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>1</sup> Oscar Wegelin, "A List of Editions of the Poems of Anne Bradstreet, with Several

Cotton Mather's excessive praise of her in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* in 1702.<sup>2</sup> The present note offers an English bibliographical notice of Anne prior to Phillips's and curiously anticipatory of a point in Mather's tribute.

Mather's commendation of Anne occurs in his account of Thomas Dudley, her father. "Reader," he says, "*America* justly admires the learned women of the other hemisphere";<sup>3</sup> and he lists nine of them, Hypatia, Sarocchia, three Corinnas, Eudocia, Hrosvitha, Pamphila, and Anna Maria von Schurmann, as examples.<sup>4</sup> He concludes: "But now she prays, that into such catalogues of authoresses as *Beverovicus*, *Hottinger*, and *Voetius* have given unto the world, there may be a room now given unto Madam Ann Bradstreet, the daughter of our governour Dudley, and the consort of our governour Bradstreet, whose poems, divers times printed, have afforded a grateful entertainment unto the ingenious, and a monument for her memory beyond the stateliest *marbles*."<sup>5</sup>

The catalogues of Jan van Beverwyck (*Beverovicus*), John Henry Hottinger, and Gisbert Voet are now almost forgotten.<sup>6</sup> But Anne found room during her own lifetime in a catalogue far more important than theirs, William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*.<sup>7</sup> In the section devoted to poetry is the entry: "Mrs. Bradstreet. The 10. Muse, a Poem. 80."<sup>8</sup> This was no

Additional Books relating to Her," *American Book Collector*, IV, 16 (1933). See also *The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse*, ed. John H. Ellis (Charlestown, [Mass.] 1867), p. lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> L. N. Richardson, "Anne Bradstreet," *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 578.

<sup>3</sup> *Magnalia Christi Americana; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England* (2 vols.; Hartford, 1820), I, 125.

<sup>4</sup> These have been identified by Kenneth B. Murdock (ed.), *Selections from Cotton Mather* (New York, 1926), p. 91 n.

<sup>5</sup> Mather, *op. cit.* By "divers times printed" he can mean only two, the 1650 and the posthumous 1678 editions.

<sup>6</sup> Murdock, *op. cit.*, notes only that Beverwyck was a Dutch physician (1594-1647), Hottinger a Swiss theologian (1620-1667), and Voet a Dutch theologian (1589-1677). It is possible to suggest two of the very catalogues that Mather had in mind. In John W. Spargo, "Some Reference Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Finding List," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXI, 133-175 (1937), entry 86, p. 161, is "Gysbert Voet. *Exercita et bibliotheca studiosi theologiae . . . editio secunda*. . . 1651"; and entry 94, p. 162, is "Johann Heinrich Hottinger. *Bibliothecarius quadrupartitus*. . . 1664."

<sup>7</sup> London, Printed in the Year 1658. The full title may be found in Theodore Besterman, *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography* (Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 29. Besterman regards London's collection of 3,202 titles (increased to 3,602 by the 1660 supplement) as a landmark in English bibliography. He does not mention Beverwyck or Voet.

<sup>8</sup> Fol. Ec4 verso.

idle or accidental recognition, for London says in his Preface that he carefully selected only choice and vendible books for his lists.<sup>9</sup> Had Anne looked into this catalogue she would have found herself in far loftier literary circles than that of Hypatia, Hrosvitha, or Anna Maria von Schurmann. On the same leaf with hers are entries for Phineas Fletcher, for "Mr. Milton's Poems," and for her beloved DuBartas; within a few pages are Walton's *Compleat Angler*,<sup>10</sup> Browne's *Religio Medici*,<sup>11</sup> and "Mr. Shaksper's Poems."<sup>12</sup> A further note of interest appears in the entry for Cotton's ancestor: "Mr. Mather of N. E. A Catechism containing the Grounds of Religion."<sup>13</sup>

In London's *Catalogue*, then, we have an apt anticipation of Cotton Mather's suggestion, together with what is more significant, concrete evidence of Anne Bradstreet's popularity in England during her own lifetime.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. C1 recto.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. Ee2 recto.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. Ffi recto.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. L2 recto.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. P2 verso.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Adin Ballou and the Hopedale Community. Philip S. Padelford (Yale, History).

R. R. Bowker: A Biography. Edward M. Fleming (Columbia, History).

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Horace Greeley, 1854-1860. Jeter A. Isely (Princeton, History).

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The Development of the Social Thought and Criticism of Archibald MacLeish. George Adrian Kuyper (New York University, School of Education).

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Whitman in America, 1892 to the Present. Charles B. Willard (Brown).

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- The Intellectual Life of Early Charleston. Frederick P. Bowes (Princeton, History).
- Place Names in Maryland. J. Louis Kuethe (Johns Hopkins, History).
- The Rise of the Common Man in Georgia, 1865-1906. Ralph C. M. Flynt (Princeton, History).
- Social and Cultural Activities of American Business Men, 1750-1800. Frederick C. LeComte (Wisconsin, History).
- The Social and Economic History of the Pietistic Groups in Pennsylvania. John E. Bender (Pennsylvania, History).
- Social Conditions on the Wisconsin Frontier. Charles J. Kennedy (Wisconsin, History).

A Study of *The New England Courant*. Harold L. Dean (Brown).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

America in the Works of Victor Hugo. Margaret Turner Herring (Pennsylvania, French, 1938).

Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Virginia. Albert Alan Rogers (Virginia, History, 1939).

Music in Philadelphia. Robert Aaron Gerson (Pennsylvania, Fine Arts, 1939).

Periodical Criticism of Walter Savage Landor by His English and American Contemporaries. Karl Graham Pfeiffer (North Carolina).

A Phonetic Study of Italo-American Speech in Richmond, Virginia. Francis Johnson Duke (Virginia, 1938).

Whitman's Poetic Theory. Gwynne Harris Daggett (North Carolina, 1941).

### IV. DISSERTATION TOPIC DROPPED:

Mark Twain's Debt to Other American Humorists. Jane Sudath (Missouri).

### V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Joseph C. Borden, Jr. (New York Public Library) is compiling a list of editions of Washington Irving not previously recorded. The list will supplement the lists of Langfeld and Williams. Suggestions are invited.

Miss Doris L. Gross (Stonington, Maine) is engaged on a volume of essay biographies of "Women of Transcendental New England." She has completed, at the University of Maine, studies of Mrs. Hawthorne, Mrs. Emerson, and Mary Moody Emerson.

The Index Society, newly organized under the general editorship of Professor Benjamin Nangle (Yale), has announced that its publications planned for 1942 and 1944 "will probably be indexes of materials relating to American history or literature."

Professor Randall Stewart (Brown) is engaged in writing a biography of Nathaniel Hawthorne.



Lyman Beecher Stowe (1 Beekman Place, New York City) is gathering material for a life of Charlotte Cushman and will be grateful for documents or information.

Miss Martha I. Tuomi (Old Town, Maine) has completed the study of the life of Frederic Henry Hedge to 1850, reported in "Research in Progress," November, 1934, and is now planning to extend the study to a full-length biography of Hedge.

Professor Franklin T. Walker (William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri) is preparing a book on William Peterfield Trent and would like to correspond with former students or colleagues of Professor Trent.

Professor Stanley Williams (Yale) is engaged on an extensive study of Spain in American Literature.

Luella M. Wright (University of Iowa) is engaged on a biography of Peter Melendy, an Iowa pioneer. The main aim of the book will be to trace Melendy's influence on Iowa culture through his interest in fairs, lyceums, lecture courses, and libraries.

The Graduate School of the University of Southern California reported John Eric Nordskog's dissertation in progress on Democracy and Imperialism as a dissertation in American culture. Accordingly, it found a place in this list last May. Mr. Nordskog reports that he is working on democracy and imperialism in the ancient world and that his study has no bearing on America.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*  
*University of North Carolina,*  
*Chapel Hill, N. C.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

NEW ENGLAND: *Indian Summer, 1865-1915*. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1940. x, 557 pp. \$3.75.

"This book, a sequel of *The Flowering of New England*, is the second of a series in which I hope to sketch the history of American literature." With this statement and the announcement that the next book in the series will be called *The Age of Washington Irving*, Mr. Brooks unexpectedly enlarges the scope of his undertaking, and plunges himself and his readers into perplexities which may lead to confusion and misjudgment of the great merits of his indefatigable work. For if this be even the sketch of a history of American literature, it must ultimately develop some inclusive framework if not a central unity. Will the work as a whole be regional, or will it follow a series of periods? Has he completed his review of the century from 1815 to 1915 for the nation as a whole or merely for New England? May we expect parallel studies for other regions, or will he leave New England for the earlier periods only? Such questions are disturbing, but Mr. Brooks's method is empirical and he may find answers awaiting him along the path.

So far he has done one difficult task with thoroughness, insight, and effect. Perhaps this is enough. These two books reveal the New England mind during one century in its cultural expressions and are not a study of anything American in the whole sense nor are they restricted to literature in an accurate sense. They make a valuable contribution to American literary history, but they are both more and less than this pronouncement of larger aim would imply. It were better to approach them in their own obvious terms as Mr. Brooks's appraisal of New England's cultural past and, like all of his books, as a creative quest for a personal faith. In these contexts they take rank as among the most significant historical criticisms of our day.

Each of Mr. Brooks's books seems to grow out of the previous one and to be a culmination of his thought. His earlier studies of the conflict of American culture with its environment led logically to the analyses of Henry James and Mark Twain, the one a fugitive from, and the other a victim of, this apparently insoluble problem. In the Emerson studies and biography, the conflict was still present as central theme, and again a creative genius came near to being dragged down to the level of helpless mediocrity and defeat. But somehow Emerson escaped. One is not sure just why, at the end, Mr. Brooks gives him "the universe in which to live," but in doing so he himself escapes from his impasse. The

book shows the weariness of struggle, but it emerges with a semblance of solution. The environment was not finally triumphant.

In these last two books the dilemma is taken by the other horn. If the New England environment of the nineteenth century could nourish genius as well as destroy it, materialistic determinism itself might lose its sting. *The Flowering of New England* is really a further study of Emerson. It proves that a sensitive genius may fulfill his destiny if the culture of which he is part and center can reach its maturity at the same time.

This solution leaves a further problem. Mr. Brooks is himself a product of the materialistic determinism which struck about 1860 at traditional Christian values, led the generation of his fathers into the despair of Arnold, Twain, and Henry Adams, and produced the "waste lands" and the "lost generations" and the world wars of the present. Between the cultural flowering of his adopted New England and his own and our present ethical difficulties, lies a period of disillusionment and cultural decline with which he and the rest of us must reckon before we can take heart.

Until recently this period was a barren waste of critical interpretation. To call it the "era of realism" is to give it little more than a descriptive tag. For the earlier historians it was merely the chaotic eve of the present; Parrington died before he could carry his thesis through; Mumford, Hicks, Hartwick, and others wrote special studies which helped and at the same time distorted; the "short history" people and the anthologists noncommittally avoided the issue. No one succeeded in discovering an historical pattern based on first causes. Within the past year, two attempts to do so have challenged attention: R. H. Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought* and *New England: Indian Summer*. The former is intellectual and social rather than cultural history. Mr. Brooks comes the nearer to grappling with the problem of literary, by his adoption of a cultural, history idiom.

The question we may therefore ask of this later book is whether or not it, with its predecessor, has succeeded in discovering a cultural core in American democratic thought clear enough to provide a pattern for the review of an historical evolution and strong enough to survive the era of despair and to link the foundations of the past with those of the present.

The answer to this question is inconclusive, although, like the solution given to the dilemma of Emerson, it is stated by Mr. Brooks with conviction. It is to be found in his discussion of Robert Frost in the concluding chapter. "It was Robert Frost's function to mediate between New England and the mind of the rest of the nation. . . . In him the

region was born again,—it seemed never to have lost its morning vigour and freshness. . . . A boy and a sage at once, Frost carried with him an aura of infinite space and time." Here is the universe, again, in which to live; but the discovery brings a glimmer rather than a flood of light, and it comes late. The body of the book does not fully prepare for it; it is too deeply tinged with the old sense of defeat. The sustaining and fibrous quality which saves Emerson and again Frost is not apparent in the New England character in its darker hours. Indian summer is still a period of decline of the old culture without a sufficiently positive building up of the new or a sustaining of the basic motivation. The fact that it has not died comes rather as a surprise than as a logical consequence. Mr. Brooks has, however, succeeded where he failed before. He is not depressed himself as he tells his story. In William Dean Howells he has adopted for his protagonist a sane and hopeful mind, and his own attitude toward his subject reflects this tone. It is Howells rather than Frost that gives the book its central meaning.

The value of Mr. Brooks's analysis lies therefore in the richness of his material, the thoroughness of his study, and the sanity of his perspective rather than in his final answer to his problem. He has succeeded at last in reviewing a period of decline of a matured culture without becoming emotionally involved himself in the atmosphere of decay and despair. His is fundamentally an ethical perspective. It has been a long struggle, but he has finally confronted his dragon. A few years ago he could not have written this book; but because it is the resolution of an inward and personal struggle as well as an historian's review of an epoch, it will remain a point of reference for all subsequent studies of the era.

There are many details which call for comment, both favorable and unfavorable, and a few mistakes in fact such as calling *North of Boston* Frost's first book (p. 520).

For example, one wonders why Mr. Brooks avoided a return to the problem of Mark Twain, during this period a New Englander in many respects. In these pages he has only casual mention, chiefly in connection with Howells and Warner. Was the old battle wound still too sore? There is no such avoidance of James, another old problem, who is re-studied here in the former terms but in saner and calmer mood, nor of Henry Adams, whose spiritual dilemma was more profound than that of Twain and who is here afforded as keen an appraisal as we have. There should have been at least the equivalent of a chapter on Twain.

We must also mention the old problem of footnotes. By at last succumbing to the urgency of his scholar friends, Mr. Brooks has taken us into his confidence and revealed his method. It is a highly creditable one, even though unconventional. His footnotes, instead of being ref-

erences in the ordinary sense, are asides and expansions of his text, fascinating in themselves, but injurious to the artistic integrity of his narrative. They are exciting and confusing, and they make the physical process of reading a task. Now that we have them, we must read them, but a visit to an oculist is imperative upon laying down the book.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE: *A Modest Man*. By Edward Mather. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1940. viii, 356 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Mather states his intention as follows: "In these pages I have treated the biography of Hawthorne as that of a man rather than that of an author, as that of a man with a peculiar personal history, a history which constitutes a study in human behavior." Accordingly, he gives little attention to Hawthorne's writings or his literary development. One may question the wisdom of so completely divorcing an author from his works, of writing his biography so largely in terms of external events and relationships. And this objection seems especially pertinent in the case of Hawthorne, whose life had less to do with externals than the lives of most writers. If Hawthorne attached small importance to a general sociability, the importance of his intellectual and artistic life becomes correspondingly great, even for the biographer; and to omit his mind and art from the biography is to present a partial and ineffectual portrait.

Aside from this radical objection, Mr. Mather's book can be recommended to the general reader as an informative and interesting narrative. The story of Hawthorne's life is supplemented by brief sketches of many friends and acquaintances, with the result that Hawthorne is seen more clearly in his personal relationships in Mr. Mather's book than in any previous biography. Indeed, the book is particularly rich in personal detail. To make it so, the author has drawn freely upon the recent biographies of Hawthorne's contemporaries, Hawthorne's letters (among them, a few unpublished ones), and the notebooks, though using still the bowdlerized texts of the English and Italian journals.

A good deal of space is given, rightly, to Hawthorne's political connections, particularly with Cilley, Bridge, and Pierce; and the story is told without the customary abolitionist reprehension. I cannot quite agree, however, with the view that the *Life of Pierce* shows Hawthorne's "ignorance of contemporary affairs," or that in 1861 Hawthorne was "most inaccurately informed" concerning the state of his country. He was certainly a bad political prophet (political prophecy is always difficult!), but Hawthorne's political positions in 1852 and in 1861 are historically more respectable, I venture to say, than the author allows.

It may possibly be a mistake to look at and judge these matters (and other matters pertaining to Hawthorne) too exclusively from the point of view of the Concord transcendentalists. At the very end of his book, Mr. Mather quotes the famous obituary passage from Emerson's journal with tacit approval. To do so is to give almost too much weight to the interpretation of a great contemporary who, it seems to me, was not a particularly competent judge of either Hawthorne's works or his character.

Since the author is an Englishman, the chapter on Hawthorne's English experience is of special interest. Hawthorne "was to leave England with hurt feelings," and the reason is found, rightly no doubt, in the English indifference to America. Of this indifference, the English biographer writes with disarming candor:

Hawthorne imagined that the old English tree had sent out its roots beneath the ocean bed of the Atlantic and had sprung up and flourished in New England. . . . In the eyes of Englishmen . . . the New England growth is not the extension of its roots but the mere product of seeds sent over with the tiresome Pilgrim Fathers. . . .

Hawthorne had expected to find that the English would be just as much interested in what had become of their New England cousins as New Englanders were unquestionably in the life of their English forebears before the colonization of North America. The English were not and never had been the least interested in the fortunes of the descendants of Englishmen who went to America.

The "chagrin" which Matthew Arnold noted in *Our Old Home* is better understood perhaps in the light of these authoritative statements.

Mr. Mather's narrative is refreshingly free from the methods and biases which have too often distorted recent biographical writing. There is no attempt at psychoanalysis and none of the psychoanalytic jargon; there is no political or sociological axe to grind; there is no exploitation of the merely picturesque. The story of Hawthorne's life is told, or retold, sympathetically and fairly. Hawthorne is seen, once more, mostly at odds with his environment. The works are a criticism of that environment. And if Mr. Mather omits the works almost completely, his book reminds us again of the motivation behind them.

The meaning of the subtitle, "A Modest Man," is not quite clear. Perhaps it means simply, "of a retiring nature." But Hawthorne's "modesty" in social and public connections should not be interpreted as diffidence of soul, nor should the deprecatory tone of the prefaces be taken too seriously. Both as man and as artist, his convictions were impregnable; and though without arrogance, he did not esteem himself or his work lightly.

*Brown University.*

RANDALL STEWART.

COTTON MATHER: *A Bibliography of His Works*. By Thomas J. Holmes. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. xxxvi, 1395 pp. \$15.00.

In the issue of this journal for January, 1934, this reviewer attempted somewhat feebly to do justice to Mr. Thomas J. Holmes's monumental bibliography of Increase Mather. Much that was there said may be merely extended to cover the three-volume bibliography of his son. The five volumes comprise a single work.

It was hardly expected at that time that Mr. Holmes would have the patience, longevity, and persistence to complete by far the larger part of his self-assigned task. Whereas Increase could be credited with 175 numbered items in the bibliography, Cotton required a listing of 468, not counting 156 unnumbered items. Although there were many controversial questions to be settled before the canon of the father could be declared to be definitive, there were many more in that of the son. The bibliographer in the *Cambridge History* confessed that "after an immense amount of work by the most painstaking antiquarians, the bibliography—and in particular that of Cotton Mather—remains somewhat muddled." He excuses himself by saying that even this amount of work is more than the value of the Mathers' writings justifies. Mr. Holmes replies: "Cotton Mather is still the most salient, representative, interesting, controversial, provocative figure in the Colonial New England scene." Few would contradict; and that the outlines of his intellectual history are no longer muddled must give all who are interested in the American mind a sense of gratification. Whatever the intrinsic merit of his writings, their historical importance is such that a definitive review of them was imperative.

Again Mr. William Gwinn Mather and Mr. Holmes called to their aid enthusiasts and authorities, among them Messrs. Tracy MacGregor, Kenneth B. Murdock, Lloyd A. Brown, Perry Miller, George Francis Dow, Theodore Hornberger, William S. Piper, and George W. Robinson; and the seat of operations was transferred from Mather's home in Cleveland to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, where it came under the direction of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham. Without this timely aid, the originators of the project might well have been sunk in the "Mather bog."

Time alone can adequately review a work of such detail as this. It is the fate of bibliographers to make errors as well as correct them, even though none may appear at first glance. Objections might also be raised to such procedures as including critical comment of content with factual bibliographical record and listing titles alphabetically by the first word rather than chronologically. But it is a happier task to give the compilers

thanks for the many new titles they have listed, the eight ghosts they have laid, the descriptions of known but lost works, the analysis of unpublished manuscripts, and the sense of completeness that the entire work gives.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

THE FIRST AMERICAN NOVELIST. By Gustavus Howard Maynadier. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. 79 pp. \$1.25.

Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, subject of this brief study, is remembered today as the author of *The Female Quixote*, one of the most popular English novels of the eighteenth century. However, attention is here directed, because of their American settings, to two forgotten and decidedly inferior novels: *The Life of Harriot Stuart*, published according to the title page in 1751, but actually appearing in December, 1750; and *Euphemia*, written when Mrs. Lennox was seventy. Neither is, to be sure, quite devoid of merit; and both are amusing in their gingerly yet extravagant treatment of New York, Albany, and Schenectady, places easily identified despite clumsy attempts at concealment. Both have heroines beset with admirers and perils, who narrate their adventures to trusted friends. Some pages are devoted by Dr. Maynadier to known facts and attractive conjectures concerning the life of the author. Mrs. Lennox seems to have given herself, at least by implication, a more impressive family background than the evidence warrants. Dr. Maynadier is convinced that she was not the daughter of the Royal governor of New York—at least acknowledged—and finds no officer of name Ramsay higher than Captain. He dallies with the idea that she may have been of English birth. In general, the study of Professor Miriam Small of Wells College, *Charlotte Ramsay Lennox—An Eighteenth Century Lady of Letters* (1935), to which Dr. Maynadier acknowledges indebtedness, remains the limit of present information. Unresolved uncertainties thus cloud any claim which might be made for Mrs. Lennox as the first native-born American novelist. The present small volume is chiefly useful for the attention it directs to two early but unfamiliar novels touching upon the American scene.

*The University of Iowa.*

BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD

NEW POETS FROM OLD: *A Study in Literary Genetics*. By Henry W. Wells. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. 356 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Wells's study is original and valuable, although it suggests an important question as to critical method. The author displays a great understanding of the traditional relationships between the poetry of earlier and later periods; he has a sound perception of the poetic process,



and the requisite familiarity with historical prosody. In spite of these virtues, the book too often falls into the error of construing the resemblance between two literary works as evidence of direct influence; sometimes it treats both influence and resemblance in one category, as though they were the same thing essentially. Yet it must be recognized that Mr. Wells has made a contribution to criticism. He has recapitulated, with perhaps fuller evidence than we have before had, the traditional tendencies or inspiration of modern poetry in England and America, and he has contributed some important new observations.

Further, in fairness it should be said that the study of literary influences is perhaps the most dangerous of critical enterprises, fraught with continual prospect of error. Even when a poet has declared—or denied—his indebtedness to a predecessor, he is likely to be wrong. Without documentary evidence to support him, the critic who indicates such an “influence” at once invites contention. On the other hand, the question of literary resemblance may have deep social significance. It is a familiar observation that similar social and spiritual experience in two different periods of time will give rise to similarities of artistic expression, even when there has been little direct influence from the earlier to the later age.

The accidental fact that a later poet admired an earlier poet to the point of direct influence may be less important than the social significance suggested by indirect resemblances between the art of one age and that of another. From this point of view a comparison of the intellectual history of the Romantic Revival with that of the Elizabethan Age is fruitful. Or to confine ourselves to Mr. Wells's principal field, is it not probable that the intellectual atmosphere of the post-war period would have evoked a metaphysical expression in such poets as Eliot, MacLeish, Wylie, and Hart Crane without the rehabilitation of Jacobeans and Cavaliers like Donne, Vaughan, Marvell, and Crashaw? Mr. Wells agrees that “the most fruitful interpretation of a poem is usually the sociological,” but unfortunately he concludes, “so far as this book is concerned the spirit of our own times is largely taken as known or at least elucidated without formal comment.” In view of the elementary character of the investigation of American social history since 1870 this attitude regrettably restricts the study.

Most of Mr. Wells's observations concerning the survival of tradition in modern English verse are profoundly interesting and useful, whether one accept the direct source suggested or not. There is a valuable study of the efforts of certain poets to employ the vigorous Old English long line with its regulation of alliteration and stress instead of syllable count. The examination of these characteristics in Hopkins, MacLeish, Day Lewis, and Auden is instructive, and the direct influences in this instance

are convincingly established, although Mr. Wells fails to make the point that the Old English rhythm has prevailed in all of English poetry, as a recognizable influence, except in the Augustan age. The analysis of Robinson's style is especially sound, although the insistence upon the direct influence of Meredith to the exclusion of others, especially Browning, seems erroneous to this reader.

Perhaps the best study in this volume concerns the relations of Robinson Jeffers' with the literary past. There is convincing demonstration of the indebtedness of "Tamar" and "Give Your Heart to the Hawks" to *Macbeth*, of "Cawdor" and "Thurso's Landing" to *Hamlet*, and cogent argument for less extensive indebtedness to Greek tragedy, medieval drama, and various Elizabethans, notably Marlowe, Webster, and Ford. The subtle study of the indebtedness of W. H. Davies to Herrick and that of E. E. Cummings to the Elizabethans is further demonstration of the perceptive intelligence which Mr. Wells frequently displays. Yet the obvious dangers of his method lead him into many pitfalls. As a typical example of this, Genevieve Taggard's "Try Tropic" is, as he says, a fine poem, and truly in the Cavalier spirit, but to claim that this little poem of twenty-three lines is "highly reminiscent of the work of Jonson, Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and even Crashaw" is somewhat to overleap the mark.

The great number of poets involved in this study, together with a complicated scheme of classification requiring examination and exemplification of so many tendencies in modern verse, gives the effect of superficiality and confusion. The ballad and blank verse are each treated in two pages; the sonnet fares a bit better, with six pages. Had the study been confined to fuller treatment of the principal authors, much would have been gained. For example, Mr. Wells twice says of MacLeish's "You, Andrew Marvell" that "the title acknowledges indebtedness," which is obvious. What is not obvious is the unacknowledged relationship of this poem specifically to Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"—both poets expressing, for their different ages, the contrast between Time and the brief duration of individual life. Yet a discussion of this relationship would shed the strongest possible light on the nature of MacLeish's earlier inspiration and on the central meaning of his earlier work.

Still, in spite of the qualifications which have been suggested, Mr. Wells's book is an important and provocative contribution to our understanding of modern poetry.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

SCULLEY BRADLEY.

AMERICA IN CONTEMPORARY FICTION. By Percy H. Boynton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [1940.] ix, 274 pp. \$2.50.

The trouble with any sort of contemporary literature is that it refuses to stay put. Today's writers fade out tomorrow, or come in retrospect to mean different things as lines of descent and relationship are clarified by time. *Main Street*, *Cytherea*, or *Jurgen* is already seen to be more important as a revelation of the tastes of its decade than as literature.

But if a critic has once committed himself to a full-length study of a contemporary, he finds it difficult to make the radical adjustments of perspective which are necessary after the lapse of a decade or two. That difficulty is evident in the parts of Carl Van Doren's *The American Novel* which are based on his *Contemporary American Novelists* of 1922; it is still more evident in this volume of Professor Boynton's.

Seven of Professor Boynton's fifteen essays "have been rewritten and brought down to the present" from studies published in the middle 1920's. But the revisions are superficial; the deeper insight into the literature of that post-war decade has not been achieved. By this time anyone ought to realize that much of the characteristic writing of twenty years ago was a throwback to the 1890's, alike in its revolt against the village and in the preciosity of such an author as James Branch Cabell. Cabell's labored style is that of the young Stevenson of *Virginibus* and *Prince Otto*; his subject matter is Hewlett, Wilde, and *The Yellow Book*. But Professor Boynton has not brought out these wider relationships; and, as a result, his rewriting of his earlier studies does not justify itself.

The eight new essays which complete the volume do little to remove the general impression of sketchiness and superficiality. "The quandary in which America finds itself" is not adequately illustrated by Dos Passos, Thomas Wolfe, Faulkner, Steinbeck, and Mary Ellen Chase, who are the only novelists to achieve their full fame since 1930 whom Professor Boynton discusses at any length. His book, in short, promises more than it performs, and too much of its performance is on the level of the popular lecture rather than on that of solid historical interpretation.

Western Reserve University.

DELANCEY FERGUSON.

THE EXPENSE OF GREATNESS. By R. P. Blackmur. New York: Arrow Editions. [1940.] vi, 305 pp. \$3.00.

*The Expense of Greatness* contains eleven essays and reviews reprinted from the *Partisan Review*, the *Kenyon Review*, the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, and the *Southern Review*, besides two now published for the first time—a study of the "forced" sensibility of T. E. Lawrence and a proposal that American universities give status to the profession of letters

by allowing serious writers to teach their craft. The bulk of the volume is thus presumably familiar, and the names of the periodicals to which Mr. Blackmur contributes will be a sufficient reminder of the general character of his work: criticism not "scholarly" (in the sense that it avoids preoccupation with literary history), yet more ambitious than ordinary reviewing for the monthlies and weeklies. Although Mr. Blackmur expresses opinions concerning a great many authors, living and dead, students of American literature will be concerned primarily with the essays on Emily Dickinson, Melville, and Henry Adams.

At a time when many who profess American letters are tending (no doubt wisely) to adopt the methods of the social historian, it is refreshing to encounter a critic resolutely intent upon "the imaginary ordering or actualization of experience within the terms of art." Refusing, for example, to regard Emily Dickinson as "a fatal event in cultural history," Mr. Blackmur purposes to ascertain by minute analysis the actual level of imaginative achievement attained in her work; there is nothing in poetry, he reminds us, that is not in the words. Emily Dickinson's vocabulary—depending heavily upon the terms of "romance royalty" (without Shakespeare's deep belief in the function of kings), names of jewels and of distant places, and phrases related to sea-borne commerce—he finds indicative of a fanciful rather than an imaginative rendering of experience. The dying Puritan society, he says (here, at least, resorting to sociology), afforded no tradition to teach the poet that "poetry is a rational and objective art and most so when the theme is self-expression." She had some terror, insight, and observation, but her attitude toward the responsibilities of poetry was "private and eccentric," and mainly she wrote "*vers de société* of the soul—not in form or finish but in achievement."

The essay on Melville is more strictly confined to the frame of reference Mr. Blackmur proposes for himself. Rejecting the notion that Melville was silenced by a society indifferent to art or shocked by his "pessimism," the critic explains the novelist's truncated career by reference to a technical crisis implicit in *Moby Dick* and final in *Pierre*. *Moby Dick*, although successful, is written on a "putative" rather than on a "dramatic" level; Melville constantly says what he is going to do and then stops short. At its highest, the putative imagination can produce good allegory; this, however, requires a stable body of belief which Melville did not have. The business of whaling furnishes motive power for the narrative, but the source of the book's power is Melville's eloquence: he "habitually used words greatly." Even here he was not always equal to himself in performance. Really at home only in the straightforward mode of "the liberal Emersonian sermon" (Father

Mapple's sermon on Jonah, Plotinus Plinlimmon's discourse on Chronometricals and Horologicals), Melville made an insincere use of Gothic (erroneously called "Elizabethan") rhetoric in an effort to popularize his work. In *Pierre*, deprived of whaling as a motive force, he discovered that he was not really a novelist, not willing to accept the conventions of fiction as if they were real. "The material of illustration had been exhausted in *Moby Dick*," and "there was no longer any need to tell a story."

The essay on Henry Adams, which gives the book its title, enforces the proposition that "As it is the condition of life to die, it is a condition of thought, in the end, to fail." For as "Death is the expense of life . . . failure is the expense of greatness." Henry Adams was indeed a failure, but no more a failure than had been his forebears. Seeking to discover a principle of unity underlying all phenomena, he reached "the positive ignorance which is the final form of contradictory knowledge"; yet "it is the triumph of failure that in the process it snares all that can be snared of what we know," and "the value was worth the expense."

The great merit of Mr. Blackmur's work is that even when his analysis is destructive, he takes American writers seriously. But his criticism has the defects of its virtues, which is to say that it tends to be humorless, overrefined, and highfalutin. A writer who constantly strives to render the ultimate nuance runs the risk of being needlessly obscure. Fortunately, the opaque sentences are largely confined to the essays about British authors, and the criticism of the Americans is often highly suggestive—as Mr. Blackmur would say, "heuristic."

*Southern Methodist University.*

HENRY NASH SMITH.

ROMANTICISM IN AMERICA. Edited by George Boas. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. xi, 202 pp. \$2.25.

These papers on Romanticism in the United States were read in 1940 in the third symposium of a series conducted at the Baltimore Museum of Fine Arts. As "a concrete attempt at the integration of art and thought," they are concerned with the Romantic idea among historians, Romantic patterns of greatness in the arts, Thomas Cole and the Romantic landscape, the Romantic [more properly, sentimental] lady in literature, ladies' books, pseudo-Gothic architecture, Romantic music, and Romantic philosophy.

*Romanticism in America* is such a book as might be expected to come out of a pleasant and stimulating informal symposium. Its topics were apparently dictated by the interests of the speakers available rather than a determination to examine all the major manifestations of Romanticism. Otherwise, two papers would not be devoted to sentimentalism and none

to Romantic emotion, two to pseudo-Gothic architecture and none to the persistence of the Classical influence. It is also evident that the contributors were not selected on the basis of their ability, for the essays are extremely uneven both in substance and in style. Again, no one will quarrel with the editor when he announces that the symposium attempts "merely to indicate, to suggest, leaving it to the imagination [or, preferably, research] of others to fill in the gaps." Finally, more than one paper illustrates the editor's dictum that "It is easy to ridicule the Romanticists"—perhaps too easy, as it is done here.

The true significance of the book lies in its demonstration that nine people in three states are aware that there was a Romantic movement in literature and the other arts in America and are devoting at least a little attention to it. For several years, literary historians and anthologists have given it nominal recognition, but Romanticism in native letters still remains all but unexplored. The present volume, therefore, is welcome for its hints of what must yet be done if we are fully to understand American culture from the 1820's to the Civil War.

*University of Minnesota.*

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

A HISTORY OF AESTHETICS. By Katherine Everett Gilbert and Helmut Kuhn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. xi, 582 pp. \$4.25.

It is nearly half a century since Bosanquet published his history of aesthetics, the one comprehensive account of the subject which had until the appearance of the present volume been written in English. In the meantime we have had only Croce's quite limited historical survey, made available in English in 1909, to supplement the outdated and, in some respects, unsatisfactory work of Bosanquet. The time was therefore fully ripe for a new history, and students of aesthetics cannot but be grateful to Professors Gilbert and Kuhn for their effective attempt to supply a long-felt need.

The book as a whole is admirable. Working through a vast field of diverse and often elusive materials, the authors have made an impressive achievement in selection and interpretation. As compared with Bosanquet and Croce—in spite of the special excellence of each in certain phases of his subject—they have written with less bias and a more catholic view than either of their distinguished predecessors, with the result that some important gaps have been filled and certain writers and movements have received something nearer their due attention. Men like Hobbes and Addison are given respectable, if limited, notice; the English romanticists get more space; the aesthetic movement in the nineteenth century is accorded proportionate—perhaps something beyond proportionate—consideration; and the Americans Emerson and Whitman are quite justifiably

included. Worthy of special praise are the treatment of the age-old quarrel between the philosophers and the poets, the clear presentation of the continuity of theory through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and the illuminating discussion of such individual writers as Aristotle, Ruskin, and Emerson.

It would be too much to expect, however, that a work covering a field of such scope and intricacy would be uniformly good. Indeed, it seems too much to believe that a wholly satisfactory history of aesthetics could ever be contained within the confines of one volume, however admirable the task of selection and compression—the only adequate history of psychology yet written (Brett's) fills three sizable volumes. The reader of this book need therefore not be surprised to find omissions of names and limitations in the consideration of special topics that will, according to his particular interests, strike him as more or less serious. Thus the Spaniard Gracián, important in the development of such concepts as taste and novelty, is not mentioned, and his influential countryman Huarte receives bare notice. Among English writers, one misses reference to Alison, representative of the height of associational psychology applied to taste, and to Hazlitt, notable for his refutation of the "selfish" school and for his effective attempts to reconcile the claims of sensationalism and idealism. The even more important continentals Véron and Bergson are unaccountably omitted.

In the treatment of subjects, though the authors have made contributions to that end, the whole pattern of theory as it merges and is modified from movement to movement, especially with relation to such concepts as reason, imagination, nature, and taste, is less clearly defined than one would like to see. Moreover, in contrast to the usual insight displayed in this book there are cases where the interpretation of the movement of thought within a period is questionable. It is, for example, hard to agree with the authors in their view of the regressive quality of eighteenth-century British aesthetics. Addison, Hutcheson, Kames, Hume, and Burke all show the influence of Locke, they state, but "the esthetic systems that grew under their forming hands had a refractory tendency to rejoin, after a short independent journey, the well-worn highroad of seventeenth century reason and Neo-Classic taste" (p. 233). Now the Lockian, as well as the Hobbian, influence on English aesthetics was, on its more positive side, in the direction of empirical considerations. Emphasis on the actual effects of a work of art and psychological analysis of these effects and their causes more and more took precedence over rationalized dogma. Hence the continued stress on imagination and emotional appeal, on sublimity, novelty, and taste. Even Samuel Johnson in his criticism of Shakespeare took his cue from experience, with the result

that he dealt a stunning blow to what was left of neoclassic authority in his day; Reynolds, for all his conservatism, is, as our authors agree, empirical and psychological in some of his most crucial utterances; and the Scottish rhetoricians are generally off the beaten track of neoclassicism, on a winding road that leads to the associational aesthetics of Alison and the empirical psychological parts of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Hazlitt.

It is, however, less important to make qualifications than to emphasize the general excellence of this history. Professors Gilbert and Kuhn have written a book which is certain to be for many years to come the standard work of its kind. It is true that students may still return to their Bosanquet for summaries of such figures as Kant and Hegel and to their Croce for a more specialized account of certain Italian writers; but for a comprehensive, scholarly, and readable survey of the whole field of aesthetics from Xenophanes to the end of the last century they will gladly go to Gilbert and Kuhn. It is to be sincerely hoped that these authors will continue their good work, and will furnish us at a near date with a book on contemporary aesthetics, in which Croce, Santayana, Parker, and others will appear in due perspective.

*The University of Michigan.*

CLARENCE D. THORPE.

THREE CENTURIES OF AMERICAN HYMNODY. By Henry Wilder Foote. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. x, 418 pp. \$4.00.

Henry Wilder Foote's study of American hymnody aims chiefly at apprehending those main streams of religious thought and practice which have found expression in the hymnbooks used by successive generations. It deals primarily with the words, and only incidentally with the music. In the author's judgment, the material he presents is significant in that it gives evidence, first, of a breaking down of denominational barriers, and, second, of trends toward the expression of individualistic and theologically independent religious experience on the one hand and human brotherhood (as distinct from a church universal) on the other. These trends are especially interesting in contrast with English hymnody's ecclesiastical and liturgical character.

The publishers correctly note that the book will be valuable to three groups: those concerned with the improvement of public worship, those who want information about particular hymns, and students of American life and literature. The first group will be grateful for the discovery of many excellent though unfamiliar hymns, and may well feel, as does this reviewer, that Foote's study should serve as the groundwork for a new and interdenominational hymnbook. The second group will likewise find much to their liking, but the book is not really written from their point of view; it quite successfully avoids the anecdotal and ency-



clopedic pitfalls. It is primarily the student of American life who will value the book. The literary quality of the hymns is rarely significant, but to anyone who is concerned to understand the American mind and spirit, these songs of worship and Foote's analysis of them are profoundly interesting.

The book begins with an excellent presentation of the backgrounds of English psalmody. The period of *The Bay Psalm Book*, the three hundredth anniversary of whose publication this study helps to commemorate, is then treated carefully and sympathetically in the light of Scholes's study of the Puritans and music. It is, of course, still necessary to combat the old notion that the Puritans hated music, but there is a tendency in this and other recent books to press the argument rather too far. For in spite of all the evidence that has been gathered to controvert it, there still appears to be a reasonable basis for the impression that seventeenth-century New England was an unmelodious land. That it is a mistake to blame the Puritans in general is clearly true; the Pilgrims in Holland apparently sang very well, Milton liked the organ, Playford published a considerable quantity of secular music during the Protectorate, and so on. But these facts do not prove anything one way or the other about the colonists of New England. One must reckon with the fact that by 1647 Satan had so "mightily bestirred himself" among those colonists that even the singing of psalms was suspect and the Reverend John Cotton had to expound the Gospel in its defense. It certainly is "preposterous" to assert that instrumental music was taboo and instruments nonexistent, but it is not impressive to support the contrary by pointing out that "drums, trumpets, and horns were from the beginning in common use in New England for summoning people to church, to give an alarm, and to assist in military training. . . ." It is true that the difficulty of the Atlantic voyage accounts for there having been fewer elaborate instruments in the colonies than in England, but it was just as difficult to transport virginals and spinets from Holland to New Amsterdam, where there were many of both by 1660. Finally the historian must reckon with the fact that however well the colonists sang when they arrived, New England church singing had become unbearably bad by 1700, though no such thing appears to have been true of the other colonies.

Foote's excellent chapter on the hymns and tunes of the German settlers in Pennsylvania, and on other non-English church music, takes us momentarily out of the main stream of American hymnody since, as he points out, this tradition had regrettably little influence on our own. Subsequent chapters trace the transition from psalmody to hymnody and the rapid development of hymn-writing after 1800.

It is in the consideration of nineteenth- and twentieth-century hymns that the book finds its real center, and it is here that Foote's work has most value for the student of America. Deriving from Watts, American hymnody early began to show distinctive traits. It is notable that the first American edition of a Universalist hymnal appeared in the same year as the Declaration of Independence. Nineteenth-century English hymnody was dominated by Anglican authors, but there were relatively few hymns of importance written by American Episcopalians. Here it was a Unitarian like Samuel Longfellow, a Quaker like Whittier, a Congregationalist like Ray Palmer, and an evangelist like P. P. Bliss who dominated the scene. Theirs were oftener "I" hymns than "We" hymns. As the century advanced, there were fewer and fewer "hymns with worms in them," and the emphasis fell increasingly on the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God rather than on the holy catholic church.

Foote traces these developments painstakingly and with scholarly attention to fact. [There are a few slips: Anna and Susan Warner's *Say and Seal* is a novel, not a collection of poems (p. 225), and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" was first sung July 4, 1831, not 1832 as its author later misstated (p. 227).] One is at liberty to differ at times with his interpretation, but one cannot overlook the importance of his study or the sincerity of his approach. It is chiefly in his treatment of the folk hymns of the late eighteenth century, the camp-meeting hymns of the early nineteenth, and the gospel songs of the century's end, that this reviewer differs with his point of view. Foote regards all these at their best as part of a "search for an utterance 'more to the popular liking'" (p. 264), and at their worst as a warning of the depths to which religious song is in danger of sinking "when it leaves sound standards and seeks unreservedly to cater to the popular taste" (p. 269). There remains an important job to be done in considering why they were more to the popular liking; Foote is more at home with the Harvard hymn writers, to whom he reserves the highest praise (pp. 354-356).

Early in the book we read that Protestant hymnody is "the expression of a fresh and democratic religious impulse, originating in the Reformation, which gave back to the people psalms and hymns in their own tongue to be sung by all in common worship. . . ." We do not yet know what tongue is America's own, but it may well be one which sounded unfamiliar in Cambridge. It is as a conscientious attempt to find that tongue, and as an aid to other searchers, that this book has its greatest merit.

*Bennington College.*

JOHN A. KOUWENHOVEN.

MARK TWAIN IN GERMANY. By Edgar H. Hemminghaus. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. x, 170 pp. \$2.25.

Noting that "no systematic effort has previously been made to explore with any degree of thoroughness the German view of Mark Twain in its historical features," Dr. Hemminghaus has attempted, in this volume, such an exploration. His zeal in finding out everything possible about the German publication of Clemens's works and in tracking down the comments on the author is highly impressive: much evidence is offered of a thorough canvassing of pertinent data, and the bibliography is excellent.

The interpretation of the data, however, does not seem to be richly revelatory. A study of this sort, theoretically, may be valuable in one or more of several ways: If the critics studied have brilliant insight, their comments may illuminate the form or content of the author whom they criticize. Again, their ways of treating books may offer data about critical methods, and those methods may reveal either national or esthetic peculiarities. Finally, since the critics studied are of one country, what they say about an author, and the extent to which the people of the country buy the author's works, may throw some light on the national history. Dr. Hemminghaus has found little hitherto unknown German criticism which comments penetratingly on the artistry or thought of Twain. His study of critical methods indicates that they are too various and, as a rule, too casual, to yield him much in the way of generalizations. He finds most that is of value as he studies the popularity and criticism of Clemens in connection with Germany's history. It is interesting to notice, as Dr. Hemminghaus does, how German approval of Clemens has waxed and waned in harmony with the national political and social ideology. But one feels that mutations of this sort were so predictable that their discovery hardly justifies this exhaustive study.

*The University of Chicago.*

WALTER BLAIR.

WERDEN UND WACHSEN DER U. S. A. IN 300 JAHREN. By Werner P. Friederich. Bern: A Francke. 1939. 271 pp. Fr. 7.80.

Professor Friederich has selected thirty significant Americans of the past and present and through accounts of them has attempted to record the spiritual and material growth of the United States. His book is written, therefore, around a core of interpretative sketches, a form of composition in which the author excels. He discusses understandingly not only such major figures as Washington and Lincoln, but is equally happy in the presentation of James Oglethorpe and Booker T. Washington. His accounts of literary men—Irving, Poe, Emerson, Hawthorne, Mark

Twain, Jack London, Sinclair Lewis—are excellent. "Ein amerikanischer Gottsucher: Herman Melville" calls for particular mention.

All the thirty men, whether major or minor in importance, are seen as representative figures, whose lives or characters one finds to be symbolic of American forces and situations. Although the record thus conveyed is not complete, numerous elements in that record are brought clearly into view. Professor Friederich is obviously attracted to idealistic efforts and to lost causes. The fate of the vanished colonists on Roanoke Island offers him a pleasant challenge. Roger Williams appears to him far more attractive than Governor Bradford, to whom, incidentally, he devotes just eight lines. He presents feelingly the Southern side in discussing the issues of the Civil War period. He points out the part played by unsuccessful France in the affairs of early American history. His stress is more often placed on the aspirations of Americans than on their practical achievements.

No new factual matter appears in *Werden und Wachsen der U. S. A.*, but the volume is not vitiated on that account. It presents a fresh view of the American scene. European readers in particular will find it valuable. Such readers should depend less on the superficial studies of the journalist and the casual visitor to this country, and more on the work of men who, like Professor Friederich, have lived in America and identified themselves with its civilization and its way of life.

*The University of Kansas.*

JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

## BRIEF MENTION

THE FIRST GENTLEMEN OF VIRGINIA: *Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class*. By Louis B. Wright. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library. 1940. xii, 373 pp. \$3.75.

LETTERS OF ROBERT CARTER, 1720-1727: *The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman*. Edited by Louis B. Wright. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library. 1940. xiv, 153 pp. \$2.50.

The publication of *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* greatly lessens the student's difficulty in obtaining an accurate idea of the literary culture of Colonial Virginia. Dr. Wright has continued the studies of Bruce, Smart, and others on Virginia private libraries, and his thorough knowledge of English literature of the period has made it possible for him, better than his predecessors, to interpret his findings. He includes interesting sketches of a number of planters, among whom are Richard Lee II, Robert Beverley the historian, and several of the Carters and Byrds. The book clears away several common misconceptions of the planters, but perhaps its most striking contribution is in pointing out the influence in Virginia of the Renaissance conception of the "complete gentleman," an ideal which did not neglect the cultivation of the intellect. Dr. Wright suggests that the Virginia Revolutionary statesmen were closer to the Elizabethans in spirit and in education than were the fox-hunting gentry of England in the time of George III. "They," he says, "were true heirs of the English Renaissance" (p. 351).

Robert Carter's letters, though they will not greatly interest the student of literature, have a historical value for a region where, as the editor remarks, "War, fire, rats, and spring-cleanings have taken a terrible toll of documents describing the lives of the planters . . ." (p. v).

THE FEMININE FIFTIES. By Fred Lewis Pattee. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. xii, 339 pp. \$3.00.

In *The First Century of American Literature* (1935) Professor Pattee included a chapter entitled "The Feminine Fifties." Now he gives an entire volume to that decade, which he regards as "the most vital and far-reaching of the nineteenth century American decades." To the present reviewer the most interesting portions of the book are not those that deal with well-known writers like Melville and Whitman—good though these are—but chapters that concern the work of women. Few women writers of real importance appeared until after the Civil War, but Mrs. Southworth, Mrs. Hentz, and Miss Evans numbered their

readers by the thousand. Hawthorne might sneer at "the d——d mob of scribbling women," but he read and liked Fanny Fern's *Ruth Hall*. These women are an essential part of the literary picture of the 1850's, and Professor Pattee has presented them in his characteristically spirited and vivid style.

MRS. E. D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH: *Novelist*. By Regis Louise Boyle, M.A. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1939. viii, 171 pp. \$2.00.

After a brief but circumstantial account of the novelist's life, Miss Boyle discusses in some detail nineteen of the novels with emphasis upon content and method and upon the reviews that appeared in periodicals to which Mrs. Southworth contributed. Miss Boyle is under no illusion as to the merits of the novels, and her final estimate seems just.

AMERICAN BOOK COLLECTORS. AND COLLECTING FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By Carl L. Cannon. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1941. xii, 391 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Cannon's comprehensive and very readable book will interest all collectors, but it also has some importance for the student of literature who wishes to know how some of the notable collections in American libraries were built up. Nearly half of the twenty-nine chapters are devoted to collectors of Americana, and eight are given to collectors interested in English and American literature. The story begins with Thomas Prince and William Byrd and comes down to Wilberforce Eames. Much of the material brought together by such collectors as Lyman C. Draper, J. P. Morgan, Henry Clay Folger, and Henry E. Huntington is now safe in fireproof buildings open to investigators; but when one reads of such a notable collection as that of Stephen H. Wakeman, now scattered and unavailable to the investigator, the scholar is likely to experience a sense of indignation that collectors, interested in collecting as a sport, should feel so little obligation to the world of scholarship as to permit their collections to be dispersed to the highest bidders. Nevertheless, human nature being what it is, American scholars are fortunate in that so large a percentage of our collectors have been sufficiently public spirited to keep their collections intact and to make them available to scholars who need them.

THE EARLY PLAYS OF JAMES A. HERNE: *With Act IV of Griffith Davenport*. Edited with an Introduction by Arthur Hobson Quinn. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1940. x, 161 pp. \$5.00. \$85.00 for the series of 20 volumes.

FIVE PLAYS. By Charles H. Hoyt. Edited by Douglas L. Hunt. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. xvi, 240 pp. \$5.00.

THE GREAT DIAMOND ROBBERY & OTHER RECENT MELODRAMAS. By Edward M. Alfriend & A. C. Wheeler, Clarence Bennett, Charles A. Taylor, Lillian Mortimer, Walter Woods. Edited by Garrett H. Leverton. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1940. xvi, 255 pp. \$5.00.

These books are Volumes VII, VIII, and IX of the twenty-volume series "America's Lost Plays." The Herne volume, capably edited by Professor Quinn, is the most important of the three. The three plays now printed for the first time—*Within an Inch of His Life*, "*The Minute Men*" of 1774-1775, and *Drifting Apart*—throw new light upon Herne's development as a dramatist. Herne's manuscript of a more important play, *The Reverend Griffith Davenport*, was burned in the fire which destroyed Herne Oaks. In 1925, however, William Archer, who praised the play as "an exquisitely true and beautiful drama of American history," gave to Brander Matthews a manuscript of the Fourth Act. Fortunately, Professor Quinn had three copies of this made, for the manuscript has since disappeared.

Of the eighteen plays of Hoyt which he lists, Mr. Hunt has included five: *A Bunch of Keys*, *A Midnight Bell*, *A Trip to Chinatown*, *A Temperance Town*, and *A Milk White Flag*. In his introduction he points out the importance of Hoyt as a forerunner of Cohan, Connelly, Kaufman, and Hart.

The five melodramas of the third volume are examples of a type of drama better supported by the public than any later plays. Mr. Leverton explains that he had to omit Theodore Kremer's *The Fatal Wedding* because the war has made it impossible to secure permission from Kremer's relatives in Germany.

THE BEST PLAYS OF 1939-40 AND THE YEAR BOOK OF THE DRAMA IN AMERICA. Edited by Burns Mantle. With Illustrations. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1940. xii, 524 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Mantle's indispensable annual volume gives a very comprehensive view of theatrical activities in the United States. Of the ten plays which are given in part, five are Sherwood's *There Shall Be No Night*, Anderson's *Key Largo*, Kaufman and Hart's *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, Saroyan's *The Time of Your Life*, and Clare Boothe's *Margin for Error*.

THE BEST ONE-ACT PLAYS OF 1939. Edited by Margaret Mayorga. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1940. xii, 390 pp. \$2.50.

The well-known editor of *Representative One-Act Plays by American Authors* considers 1939 "a good year for the one-act play," partly

because of radio's interest in the one-act play. She includes Archibald MacLeish's *Air Raid* and Alfred Kreymborg's *Haunted Water*. Others among the dozen plays she reprints are Lynn Riggs's *A World Elsewhere*, William Saroyan's *The Hungerers*, and William Rose Benét's *Day's End*.

THREE VIRGINIA FRONTIERS. By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. xiv, 96 pp. \$1.50.

In *Three Virginia Frontiers*—the 1940 Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University—Professor Abernethy has put into somewhat popular form his findings in regard to the development of the frontier in the Southern states. His conclusions differ widely from those of the late Frederick J. Turner. He points out that "frontier conditions do not necessarily produce democratic institutions, even when the lands are easily accessible to independent small farmers" (p. 60). Among the important factors which earlier students have neglected are, he states, European customs and traditions, legal systems, and the methods by which the public lands were disposed of. He contends that democracy should be distinguished from liberalism and notes that during the early years of statehood in Kentucky the democratic element wished to abrogate the bill of rights and establish a rule that would have smacked of totalitarianism (pp. 95-96).

THE ROAD FROM MONTICELLO: *A Study of the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1832*. (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXIV.) By Joseph Clarke Robert. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1941. x, 127 pp. \$1.00.

In this well-documented study Professor Robert gives portions of the speeches in the Virginia General Assembly and discusses the movement which culminated in the debate with reactions which followed it. Statistical tables record the votes of the various legislators and give holdings in slaves. Professor Robert disposes (p. 34) of the persistent but inaccurate story—still repeated by reputable living historians—that Virginia came within a single vote of adopting measures looking toward emancipation.

THE JOURNAL OF MAJOR GEORGE WASHINGTON (1754). With an Introduction by Randolph G. Adams. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints. 1940. iv, 28 pp. \$2.00.

When the twenty-three-year-old Washington wrote out for Governor Dinwiddie the report of his arduous journey to the West to deliver the Governor's message to the Commandant of the French forces on the



Ohio, he did not expect it to be published. He had, in fact, only a single day in which to put his rough notes in shape. Nevertheless, the published journal, as Dr. Adams states, makes "a rather exciting story." As Washington's first published work, the little book has a special interest.

YANKEES AND YORKERS. By Dixon Ryan Fox. New York: New York University Press. London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 1940. xii, 237 pp. \$4.00.

As his topic for the Anson G. Phelps Lectures in Early American History Dr. Fox chose the conflict in New York State between the New Englanders and the Dutch. The theme is an interesting one, and Dr. Fox has presented it well. So much of American history has been written from a New England point of view that some readers will find considerable novelty in his chapter on "The Heroic Period of Vermont—from a New York Point of View." The book makes clear the reasons why New York writers, like Irving and Cooper, often satirized the immigrant New Englander. There is an excellent discussion of Cooper as a critic of New England (pp. 200-205).

THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Marcus Lee Hansen. Edited with a Foreword by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. xii, 230 pp. \$2.50.

This posthumous collection of studies, dealing largely with the nineteenth century, is of wider general interest than Professor Hansen's earlier and more specialized studies. If, as seems safe to say, later immigration to the United States has been somewhat neglected by our historians, the subject is one to which students of our literary culture have paid still less attention. In this we have followed the example of most of our better-known literary figures in ignoring the immigrant whenever possible. Detailed studies of the contribution to our culture of the various European nationalities would be valuable to the literary historian of the future. The literary student will find particularly suggestive Professor Hansen's chapters on "Immigration as a Field for Historical Research," "The Second Colonization of New England," and "Immigration and Puritanism." Students of the literature of Colonial New England will note in the last-named chapter certain parallels between the Puritan churches and the churches found in nearly every later immigrant settlement.

GULLAH: *Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. By Mason Crum. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1940. xvi, 351 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Crum, a native of the South Carolina Low Country, has written a well-documented historical study of the sea islands with the

emphasis upon social and religious life. There are two chapters on the Negro spirituals.

VIRGINIA: *A Guide to the Old Dominion*. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Virginia. "American Guide Series." Illustrated. New York: Oxford University Press. [1940.] xxx, 660 pp. \$3.00.

PENNSYLVANIA: *A Guide to the Keystone State*. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Pennsylvania. "American Guide Series." Illustrated. New York: Oxford University Press. [1940.] xxxii, 660 pp. \$3.00.

NEW YORK: *A Guide to the Empire State*. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of New York. "American Guide Series." Illustrated. New York: Oxford University Press. [1940.] xxxii, 782 pp. \$3.00.

These three books are among the best in the excellent "American Guide Series." As in other books in the series, they include some account of the literature of the state described. In general the sketches are well done, but there are a few slips which should be corrected. Since Bret Harte sailed for California in 1854 when he was nearly eighteen, it is hardly accurate to state that he "was taken west shortly after his birth in Albany" (*New York*, p. 150). Cooper's *The Prairie* is in no sense the "first of the Leatherstocking Tales" (*ibid.*, p. 500). In the Virginia volume there are slight inaccuracies in the statements made about George W. Bagby and Thomas Nelson Page (pp. 160, 161), and to the reviewer it seems hardly accurate to suggest that the authorship of "The Burwell Papers" is unknown (p. 157) or that Parson Weems was a Virginian by birth (p. 159).

MONTESQUIEU IN AMERICA, 1760-1801. By Paul Merrill Spurlin. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. xii, 302 pp. \$3.00.

Suspicious of "influence" studies, Dr. Spurlin has chosen the "narrower and safer course" of studying "the dissemination of his [Montesquieu's] writings in America, the judgment of Americans upon him, and the use they made of him in the forty critical years between 1760 and 1801." From the mass of materials he has collected he has no difficulty in showing that leaders of American thought knew the *Spirit of Laws*. It was on the shelves of college libraries, and it was quoted many times in American newspapers. In a sense it was an "American classic." Of special interest to American readers were Montesquieu's discussion of the English Constitution, the division of governmental func-

tions among judicial, legislative, and executive branches, and the necessity of virtue in a democracy. Similar studies of Voltaire and Rousseau would be of great value to scholars seeking to appraise the French influence upon American literature and culture.

THE INKY WAY. By Alice Hegan Rice. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. x, 282 pp. \$2.50.

Mrs. Rice's autobiography is complementary to her husband's *Bridging the Years* (1939), and it is a very readable book. It throws new light upon her fiction, particularly *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*. There are a few interesting glimpses of well-known writers, notably Richard Watson Gilder and Mark Twain.

CONTEMPORARY SOUTHERN PROSE. Edited by Richmond Croom Beatty and William Perry Fidler. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1940. viii, 614 pp. \$2.50.

"This volume of readings," say the editors in their Preface, "is an outgrowth of the opinion of its editors that Southerners interested in Southern life and letters should be afforded an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the best creative and critical thought of their region. The compilers of anthologies hitherto, for reasons of their own, appear to have given to the contemporary writers of the South only negligible attention." The selections, which consist of short stories, essays, and reviews, are well chosen, but one notes that the ideas expressed in most of them are largely those of the Agrarians. This emphasis makes a more unified book, but also makes it somewhat less representative than some Southerners will like.

FESTOONS OF FANCY: *Consisting of Compositions Amatory, Sentimental, and Humorous in Verse and Prose*. By William Littell, Esq. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Publications Committee. 1940. xviii, 116 pp. \$5.00.

*Festoons of Fancy*, originally published in Louisville by William Farquar in 1814, has been handsomely reprinted by the Princeton University Press with an Introduction by Professor Thomas D. Clark. Littell was born in New Jersey in 1768, grew up in Pennsylvania, and from 1801 until his death in 1824 lived in Kentucky, where he did notable service as compiler and editor of the state laws. The few pages of verse in the volume are for the most part conventional, but some of the political prose satires have power, particularly the "Petition of Gregory Woodcock." The editor makes entirely too much of the book as a collection representative of frontier humor. To the present reviewer it

seems that Littell belongs to the same humorous tradition as Swift, Franklin, and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who preceded him. The subject matter may be semifrontier Kentucky, but the literary method is English and not characteristically American. The book is no less valuable for that, however, and scholars are indebted to the University of Kentucky for making this rare book available.

RING-TAILED ROARERS: *Tall Tales of the American Frontier, 1830-60.*

Edited with an Introduction by V. L. O. Chittick. Wood Engravings by Lloyd J. Reynolds. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1941. 316 pp. \$3.50.

This collection of American tall tales of a special type is excellent. The selections are well chosen, and the Introduction and notes are well done. The editor is the biographer of Thomas Chandler Haliburton ("Sam Slick"), who was a collector of tall tales.

INDEX TO EARLY AMERICAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1728-1870. PART I.

THE LIST OF PERIODICALS INDEXED. New York: Pamphlet Distributing Co. 1941. 12 pp. \$ .35.

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with the Index (originally compiled by the W. P. A. under the supervision of Professor Oscar Cargill) now in the New York University Library. It is reprinted from the *Pamphleteer Monthly* for November and December, 1940.

A DESCRIPTION AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. Compiled by The Pennsylvania Historical Survey Division of Professional Service Projects, Works Progress Administration. Report prepared by Edward H. O'Neill. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Historical Survey. January, 1941.

Part I is a description of the Bibliography; Part II lists the periodicals with years covered; and Part III gives the names of authors for whom individual bibliographies are compiled. The two main sources of the materials are periodicals and bibliographies already in print. The catalogue contains approximately 750,000 items.

A SOUTHERN BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Historical Fiction 1929-1938.* Compiled by Janet Margaret Agnew. 80 pp. A SOUTHERN BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Poetry 1929-1938.* Compiled by Janet Margaret Agnew. 47 pp. University, La.: Louisiana State University. \$ .75 each.

These numbers of the *Louisiana State University Bulletin* for August and October, 1940, continue *A Southern Bibliography* begun in June,

1939, and compiled under the auspices of the Library School at Louisiana State University.

ESSAYS AND STUDIES IN HONOR OF CARLETON BROWN. New York: New York University Press. London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 1940. xiv, 336 pp. \$5.00.

This volume of studies in honor of Professor Carleton Brown is appropriately published in co-operation with the Modern Language Association, of which he was for many years Secretary. The volume contains, besides the present Secretary's brief tribute and a Bibliography of Professor Brown's writings, twenty-one studies. These are, appropriately enough, chiefly in the medieval field, where Professor Brown's work has been done. Of particular interest to students of American literature is Oscar Cargill's "The Mediaevalism of Henry Adams."

TOPOGRAPHIC TERMS IN VIRGINIA. ("American Speech Reprints and Monographs" No. 3.) By George Davis McJimsey. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. 151 pp. \$2.00.

A glossary with illustrative definitions of topographic terms in Virginia.

THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF LONGFELLOW. [Edited by Horace Scudder.] "Craigie Edition." Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. x, 655 pp. \$1.50.

This volume of the Cambridge Poets appears in a new and attractive binding.

J. B. H.

SEVENTY BOOKS ABOUT BOOKMAKING: *A Guide to the Study and Appreciation of Printing*. By Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. [pages unnumbered.] \$1.00.

A valuable bibliography for students and teachers of printing and the graphic arts. Section IV is entitled "American Developments."

D. K. J.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the May, 1941, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

- [DIGGES, T. A.] Elias, Robert H. "The First American Novel." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 419-434 (Jan., 1941).

Evidence that the *Adventures of Alonso*, anonymously printed in London in 1775, was written by Thomas Atwood Digges (1741-1821) of Warburton, Md. Includes a biographical sketch of Digges, with bibliographical notes.

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Wecter, Dixon. "Benjamin Franklin and an Irish 'Enthusiast.'" *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, IV, 205-234 (Jan., 1941).

A history of Franklin's friendship with Sir Edward Newenham (1732-1814), an Irish politician and foe of the British crown, and of the profit to American Revolutionary diplomacy of this friendship.

- [GODFREY, THOMAS] Woolf, Henry Bosley. "Thomas Godfrey: Eighteenth-Century Chaucerian." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 486-490 (Jan., 1941).

Godfrey is unique among the American poets of his time for having done more than allude to Chaucer. *The Parliament of Fowls* was the direct source of "The Assembly of Birds."

- [TYLER, ROYALL] Nethercot, Arthur H. "The Dramatic Background of Royall Tyler's *The Contrast*." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 435-446 (Jan., 1941).

"In view of the many common features of situation, character, and point of view shared by *The Contrast* and at least a half-dozen well-known English comedies of the eighteenth century, the student today

may well hesitate to accept the implication of Wignell and his successors that the author . . . was almost completely unversed in the theory and literature of the drama."

II. 1800-1870

- [ALCOTT, BRONSON] Edgell, David P. "Bronson Alcott's 'Gentility.'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 699-705 (Dec., 1940).

An analysis of Alcott's characteristic ideas, attitudes, and activity, concluding that Alcott "had the intuition of a better society, he had perfect self-reliance in himself and in his belief, and withal, he was not unconscious of the material influences on its success." A reaction against Carpenter's interpretation in the *New Eng. Quar.*, March, 1940.

- [BENNETT, EMERSON] Mills, Randall V. "Emerson Bennett's Two Oregon Novels." *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XLI, 367-381 (Dec., 1940).

Summaries of the plots of *The Prairie Flower* (1849) and its sequel *Leni Leoti* (1849), with a discussion of the characters and of the parts dealing with the Oregon setting.

- [BROWNSON, ORESTES] Rowland, James P. "Brownson and the American Republic Today." *Catholic World*, CLII, 537-541 (Feb., 1941).

Brownson predicted that the United States would solve the problem of liberty versus authority by founding the state on the Catholic religion, the only means of holding the balance between extreme individualism and collectivism.

- [COOPER, J. F.] Davis, Elizabeth E. "James Fenimore Cooper Lived Here." *Long Island Forum*, III, 253-254 (Dec., 1940).

Cooper's use of Long Island people as prototypes of characters. Fox, Dixon Ryan. "James Fenimore Cooper, Aristocrat." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXII, 18-24 (Jan., 1941).

Address delivered at the Cooper Sesquicentennial Celebration Exercises (Aug. 31, 1940). Cooper "illustrated certain virtues especially associated with aristocracy, but without which no man and no society can sustain a high level of worthiness."

- Phelps, William Lyon. "Fenimore Cooper and His Writings." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXII, 27-35 (Jan., 1941).

Address delivered at the Cooper Sesquicentennial Celebration Exercises (Aug. 31, 1940). A tribute to Cooper's achievements as a novelist.

- Stokes, Anson Phelps. "James Fenimore Cooper: A Memorial Sermon." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXII, 36-45 (Jan., 1941).

Sermon delivered at the Cooper Sesquicentennial Celebration Exercises (Sept. 1, 1940). Cooper's "sterling Christian character," "intense but discriminating patriotism," and "deep interest in religion."

[EMERSON, R. W.] Kern, Alexander C. "Emerson and Economics." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 678-696 (Dec., 1940).

Although Emerson seems to have advocated thrift, industry, and exploitation, his approach to economic problems was moral, and he cannot be made out as a vulgar, bourgeois apologist.

Randel, William Peirce. "A Late Emerson Letter." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 496-497 (Jan., 1941).

A hitherto unpublished letter of 1877, containing interesting references to Hermann Grimm.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Doubleday, Neal Frank. "Hawthorne and Literary Nationalism." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 447-453 (Jan., 1941).

In his maturity Hawthorne made a significant departure from the critical demand that American materials be glorified and idealized in the manner of Scott. "For Hawthorne, historical background relieves, and at the same time gives perspective to, an ethical or spiritual theme."

Griswold, M. J. See below, *s. v.* WHITTIER.

Randall, David A., and Winterich, John T. "One Hundred Good Novels: Hawthorne, Nathaniel, *The Scarlet Letter*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVII, 1181-1182 (Mar. 16, 1940).

Collation of first and second editions.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Lokensgard, Hjalmar O. "Oliver Wendell Holmes's 'Phrenological Character.'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 711-718 (Dec., 1940).

A hitherto unpublished "reading" of Holmes's head, written in July, 1859.

[JUDD, SYLVESTER] Brockway, Philip Judd. "Sylvester Judd, Novelist of Transcendentalism." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 654-677 (Dec., 1940).

Judd's *Margaret* "grew directly from the basic principles of Emerson's Transcendentalism."

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Griswold, M. J. See below, *s. v.* WHITTIER.

[MEEK, A. B.] Figh, Margaret Gillis. "Alexander Beaufort Meek, Pioneer Man of Letters." *Ala. Hist. Rev.*, II, 127-151 (Summer, 1940).

[PARKER, THEODORE] Ladu, Arthur I. "The Political Ideas of Theodore Parker." *Studies in Phil.*, XXXIII, 106-123 (Jan., 1941).

"Parker did not approve of the standpat materialism of the Whigs," and had still less sympathy for "the democracy of Jackson and the frontier." His loyalty to the transcendental philosophy "seems to explain much of his activity in practical politics and in matters of reform."

[POE, E. A.] Benson, Adolph B. "Scandinavian References in the Works of Poe." *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XL, 73-90 (Jan., 1941).



Poe's knowledge of the Scandinavians, and the sources of "A Descent into the Maelström."

DuBois, Arthur E. "The Jazz Bells of Poe." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 230-244 (Dec., 1940).

In "The Bells" Poe came closer than in any of his other poems to achieving an organic flow expressive of his meaning or mood.

Mabbott, T. O. "A Lost Jingle by Poe." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXIX, 371 (Nov. 23, 1940).

[STOWE, HARRIET B.] Randall, David A., and Winterich, John T. "One Hundred Good Novels: Stowe, Harriet Beecher: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVII, 1931-1932 (May 18, 1940).

Collation of editions.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "An Irishman on Thoreau: A Stillborn Review of *Walden*." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 697-699 (Dec., 1940).

The brief review is taken from the flyleaves and endpapers of an 1864 edition of *Walden*, first owned by Augustine O'Neil, an obscure Irish lawyer of New York, whose reactions reveal that he had acumen as a reader.

[TIMROD, HENRY] Fidler, William (ed.). "Unpublished Letters of Henry Timrod." *So. Lit. Mes.*, II, 605-611, 645-651 (Nov., Dec., 1940).

Eleven letters to Rachel Lyons, of Columbia, S. C.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Griswold, M. J. "American Quaker History in the Works of Whittier, Hawthorne, and Longfellow." *Americana*, XXXIV, 220-263 (Apr., 1940).

### III. 1870-1900

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Blanck, Jacob. "*The Gilded Age*: A Collation." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVIII, 186-188 (July 20, 1940).

Klett, Ada M. "Meisterschaft, or The True State of Mark Twain's German." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.*, VII, No. 2, 10-11.

An examination of the manuscript of "Meisterschaft," a comedy, reveals Mark Twain's ignorance of correct and idiomatic German.

Lorch, Fred W. "Mark Twain and the 'Campaign That Failed.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 454-470 (Jan., 1941).

An effort "to determine as far as possible the justification of the charges that have been brought against Mark Twain's war record, to discover what blame may be attached to him for his alleged desertion, and what motives led to his defection." It is evident that "he did not give up military service and leave for the West either in response to the lure of gold or to escape war service"; yet "he was none too proud" of his war record.

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Nye, Russel B. "Stephen Crane as Social Critic." *Mod. Quar.*, XI, 48-54 (Summer, 1940).

[JAMES, HENRY] Edel, Leon. "Henry James: The War Chapter, 1914-1916." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, X, 125-138 (Jan., 1941).

James's perturbations on account of the Great War, and how there came to him some unaccustomed glimmerings of social awareness, some glimpses of realities whose existence he had hardly suspected.

[JONES, H. K.] Anderson, Paul Russell. "Hiram K. Jones and Philosophy in Jacksonville [Illinois]." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 478-520 (Dec., 1940).

Jones (1818-1903) was a Platonist important in the Concord School.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Crocker, Lionel. "Walt Whitman's Interest in Public Speaking." *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XXVI, 657-667 (Dec., 1940).

Cites the influence of oratory on Walt's rhythmic chant, his friendship with Ingersoll and interest in other orators, his frequently delivered address on Lincoln, his recitals from his own and other poets' works, his notes for lecturing and on the art of public speaking, and his poem "Vocalism."

Fulghum, W. B., Jr. "Whitman's Debt to Joseph Gostwick." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 491-496 (Jan., 1941).

"Joseph Gostwick's *German Literature* was probably Whitman's chief single source for biographical and critical materials, and especially for his exposition of the essential ideas, not only of Hegel but also of the other important German Philosophers and writers": Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Leibnitz.

#### IV. 1900-1941

[ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Rosenberg, Harold. "Poetry and the Theatre." *Poetry*, LVII, 258-263 (Jan., 1941).

A critical analysis of Maxwell Anderson's poetic dramas, recently published under the title of *Eleven Verse Plays*.

[CATHER, WILLA] Benét, Stephen Vincent and Rosemary. "Willa Cather: Civilized and Very American." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books*, XVII, 6 (Dec. 15, 1940).

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Egly, William H. (comp.). "Bibliography of Ellen Anderson Gholson Glasgow." *Bul. of Bibliog.*, XVII, 47-50 (Sept., 1940).

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Carpenter, Frederic I. "Death Comes for Robinson Jeffers." *University Rev.*, VII, 97-105 (Dec., 1940).

Jeffers's "questioning of life" and "celebration of death" are discussed. An analysis shows that Jeffers has attempted to build a new philosophy "in which life shall no longer be the only good, nor death the ultimate evil."

- [ROBERTS, ELIZABETH] Buchan, Alexander M. "Elizabeth Madox Roberts." *Southwest Rev.*, XXV, 463-481 (July, 1940).

An analysis of Miss Roberts's distinctive habits of writing, especially her handling of speech.

- [ROBINSON, E. A.] Saben, Mowry. "Memories of Edwin Arlington Robinson." *Colby Mercury*, VII, 13-14 (Jan., 1941).

- [STEINBECK, JOHN] Carpenter, Frederic I. "The Philosophical Joals." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 315-325 (Jan., 1941).

In *The Grapes of Wrath*, Steinbeck has built upon the foundation of American idealism.

- [WILDER, THORNTON] Gardner, Martin. "Thornton Wilder and the Problem of Providence." *University Rev.*, VII, 83-91 (Dec., 1940).

In his plays and novels Wilder has tried to show the "magic unity of purpose and chance, of destiny and accident"—as he has said.

- [WINTERS, YVOR] Blackmur, R. P. "A Note on Yvor Winters." *Poetry*, LVII, 144-152 (Nov., 1940).

- [WOLFE, THOMAS] Brown, E. K. "Thomas Wolfe: Realist and Symbolist." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, X, 153-166 (Jan., 1941).

"Most of Wolfe's achievements will come under view if one pauses over the three notions: realism, symbolism, roomy autobiography." Discusses the significance of his recurrent use of the symbols of the stone, the leaf, and the door.

#### V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

- Belden, H. M. (ed.). "Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society." *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, XV, No. 2 (Jan. 1, 1940).

- Boardman, Fon W., Jr. "Political Name Calling." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 353-356 (Dec., 1940).

Concerning invectives employed in the last three presidential campaigns.

- Bowman, James C. "The Paul Bunyan Yarns." *Mich. Hist. Mag.*, XXV, 24-28 (Winter, 1941).

Finds in the Paul Bunyan tales and their predecessors a broad humor characteristic of the American frontier and of the American mind and spirit.

- Criswell, Elijah Harry. "Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers." *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, XV, No. 2, Apr. 1, 1940.

The study consists of two parts: the first (211 pages) deals with the *things* that were discovered on the great expedition, under the title "The New World of the Explorers"; and the second (93 pages), with the *words* they made use of or invented to describe what they

had discovered, entitled "Fitting the Language to the New World."

There is a bibliography of seven pages.

Davidson, Levette Jay. "Colorado Folklore." *Colo. Mag.*, XVIII, 1-13 (Jan., 1914).

Day, Martin S. "Baltimore Duck Pins." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 361-363 (Dec., 1940).

Terms used by Baltimore duckpin bowlers.

De Camp, L. Sprague. "Scranton Pronunciation." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 368-371 (Dec., 1940).

Concerning the distinctive features of Scranton's "General American" pronunciation.

Farr, T. J. "More Tennessee Expressions." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 446-448 (Dec., 1940).

Heffin, Woodford A., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., and Treviño, S. N. (comps.). "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 436-441 (Dec., 1940).

Articles, books, and pamphlets on "Present Day English," "General and Historical Studies," and "Phonetics."

Hubbell, A. F. "'Curl' and 'Coil' in New York City." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 372-376 (Dec., 1940).

Hume, Lt.-Col. Edgar Erskine, U. S. A. "The Slaughter of De la Bastie. A Kentucky Mountain Ballad on an Aftermath of Flodden Field's Famous Ballad." *Americana*, XXXIV, 513-557 (Oct., 1940).

Johnston, Robert. "Slanguage of Amateur Photographers." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 357-360 (Dec., 1940).

Discussion of the jargon of amateur photographers with a descriptive glossary of its terms.

Lehmann, W. P., and Heffner, R-M. S. "Notes on the Length of Vowels (III)." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 377-380 (Dec., 1940).

McJimsey, George Davis. "Topographic Names in Virginia (IV)." *Amer. Speech*, XV, 381-419 (Dec., 1940).

Concluding the descriptive glossary of terms appended to this study and including a bibliography of printed works and of manuscripts cited.

Reichmann, Felix. "Folklore in the Landis Valley Museum." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.*, VII, 10-13 (Oct., 1940).

The various collections in the privately owned Landis Valley Museum (Lancaster County, Pennsylvania), reflect the many-sided life of the Pennsylvania Dutch farming folk.

## VI. GENERAL

Benét, William Rose. "Poetry Today in America." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XXII, 3-4, 17 (Aug. 10, 1940).

Boynton, Percy H. "The Novel of Puritan Decay." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 626-635 (Dec., 1940).

A sketch of the New England novel dealing with religious attitudes, from Mrs. Stowe's *Oldtown Folks* (1869) to Marquand's *The Late George Apley* and Santayana's *The Last Puritan*.

Cash, W. J. "Literature and the South." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XXIII, 3-4, 18-19 (Dec. 28, 1940).

Cook, Mercer, "The Literary Contribution of the French West Indian." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XXV, 520-531 (Oct., 1940).

The West Indian Negro has made distinctive contributions in the fields of poetry and political discussion, with emphasis on humanitarian interests.

Flanagan, John T., and Grismer, Raymond L. "Mexico in American Fiction Prior to 1850." *Hispania*, XXIII, 307-318.

First, "Flint, Pike, and Bird wrote about the Mexico of their day"; second, Ingraham and Maturin went to Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico* for their inspiration and information; finally, R. F. Greeley, Anthony Ganilh, "Harry Halyard," and "Ned Buntline" wrote tales of the Texan struggle and the Mexican War.

Gold, William Jay. "The Cause of Good Books in the South." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXVII, 706-711 (Feb. 10, 1940).

The history of fifteen years of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*.

Hamilton, William B. "The Theater in the Old Southwest: The First Decade at Natchez." *Amer. Lit.*, XII, 471-485 (Jan., 1941).

Concerning the performances of more than seventy-five plays, pantomimes, and afterpieces from 1808 to 1817 by the amateur Natchez Theatrical Association, which popularized drama in that city, and from 1817 to 1818 by the professional troupe of N. M. Ludlow and Company, known as "The American Theatrical Commonwealth."

Hughes, Langston. "Harlem Literati in the Twenties." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XXII, 13-14 (June 22, 1940).

Comments on Negro writers and magazines.

Kazin, Alfred. "American Fin-de-Siècle." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XXI, 3-4, 11-12 (Feb. 3, 1940).

Kernodle, George R. "Playwrights and Ancestors." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 325-337 (Jan., 1941).

Kobre, Sidney, "The First American Newspaper: A Product of Environment." *Journalism Quar.*, XVII, 335-345 (Dec., 1940).

"This study was undertaken to discover some of the important factors in the colonial environment which led to the emergence and growth of the first American newspaper."

Lawson, Hilda Josephine (comp.). "The Negro in American Drama (Bibliography of Contemporary Negro Drama)." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 7-8, 27-30 (Jan., May, 1940).

A bibliography with pointed annotations.

Long, Daniel. "Printing in the Southwest." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 37-49 (Autumn, 1940).

A sketch of early printing in Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma, with comments on the functions of regional presses.

Miller, Perry. "Jonathan Edwards to Emerson." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIII, 589-617 (Dec., 1940).

The extent to which—and the manner in which—Transcendentalism emerged out of the New England tradition. Unitarianism developed out of one half of Puritanism (the emphasis upon sobriety, caution, self-control, etc.); Transcendentalism, while a reaction against Unitarianism and a revulsion against commercialism, developed out of another aspect of Puritanism (the mystical and pantheistic tendencies.)

Monaghan, Jay. "Literary Opportunities in Pioneer Times." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 412-437 (Dec., 1940).

The period of 1830-1860 was "the most energetic and undisciplined era of literary production in the history of America."

Nathan, George Jean. "Exit 'Sophistication.'" *Amer. Mercury*, LII, 227-232 (Feb., 1941).

Recent theatrical trends indicate the decline of interest in plays presenting a café society version of Wilde and Pinero.

Rahv, Philip. "The Men Who Write Our Plays." *Amer. Mercury*, L, 463-469 (Aug., 1940).

The play has not caught up with the novel as a medium of verbal art.

Smith, Rebecca W. (comp.). "Catalogue of the Chief Novels and Short Stories by American Authors Dealing with the Civil War and Its Effects." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVI, 193-194; XVII, 10-12, 33-35, 53-55 (Sept., 1939; May, Sept., 1940). To be continued.

The listing is alphabetical by decades.

Stearns, Bertha-M. "Early Philadelphia Magazines for Ladies." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIV, 479-491 (Oct., 1940).

Stewart, George R. "The Novel Takes over Poetry." *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, XXIII, 3-4, 18-19 (Feb. 8, 1941).

Ways in which many contemporary novels make use of essentially poetic devices and techniques.

Zucker, A. E. "Southern Critics of 1903 on Ibsen's *Ghosts*." *Phil. Quar.*, XIX, 392-399 (Oct., 1940).

An examination of the reviews by Southern critics of performances of *Ghosts* in numerous Southern towns shows an understanding and tolerance of Ibsen's ideas which contrasts completely with the intolerance of metropolitan reviewers.

## CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES ON EUGENE O'NEILL'S EXPRESSIONISTIC DRAMAS

CLARA BLACKBURN  
*The Ohio State University*

THE THEATRES of all countries have been washed by the same Gulf Stream of ideas and emotions since the War," says Montrose J. Moses.<sup>1</sup> It might be added that America was the last of the countries to be reached by this Gulf Stream of modern drama, which in its first phase was largely expressionistic in form. It is with this current of expressionistic drama that this study is concerned.

In the second decade of the present century, when expressionistic drama was popular in various parts of Europe, America was just beginning to become internationally conscious. Such experimental theaters as the Neighborhood Playhouse, the Provincetown Players, the Washington Square Players (nucleus of the Theatre Guild in 1919), all organized in 1915, were eager to make available to American audiences plays from abroad and to stimulate playwrights of our own country to do new and experimental work.

There was never a greater opportunity for a promising young dramatist. O'Neill took full advantage of the moment and became, as Thomas H. Dickinson points out, "the first playwright to be a free agent in the theatre."<sup>2</sup>

It was fortunate that O'Neill, a young man of subjective and mystical temperament, had the opportunity of becoming familiar with Continental expressionistic drama—drama which emphasizes the subjective rather than the objective, and the spiritual rather than the physical.

Since an exhaustive treatment of Continental influences on O'Neill's expressionistic dramas is beyond the scope of our present study, no attempt will be made to discuss the theories of Freud and of other psychoanalysts in this connection.<sup>3</sup> Occasional references

<sup>1</sup> Montrose J. Moses, "A Hopeful Note in the Theatre," *North American Review*, CCXXXIV, 528 (Dec., 1932).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas H. Dickinson, *Playwrights of the New American Theatre* (New York, 1925), p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that, without a knowledge of psychoanalysis, Strindberg in-



will be made to these theories, but the central purpose of this study is to trace the influence of Continental expressionistic dramas and dramatists on O'Neill. With this purpose in mind, we shall take into consideration his acknowledgment of indebtedness to Strindberg, whom he recognized as the father of expressionism in drama, the opportunities which he had of becoming familiar with European expressionistic dramas; and the evidence obtained from a comparative study of a number of such dramas.<sup>4</sup>

For the first turning of his mind in the direction of expressionistic drama, "O'Neill has to thank Strindberg," says Thomas H. Dickinson.<sup>5</sup> This influence is not difficult to understand, for in temperament and in outlook on life, O'Neill and Strindberg had much in common. In fact, the American dramatist has been impelled by the same restless, searching spirit which led the indomitable Swede to attempt to "scale heaven and fathom hell."<sup>6</sup> Both of these men have been deeply interested in questions such as: What is a man's place in the universe? Why does he suffer? What is the essence of life? Björkman's description of Strindberg as "a seeker after truth,

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troduced expressionism into dramatic art in 1898. He probed so deeply into his inner self that he anticipated certain theories which later were set forth by the psychoanalysts. O'Neill, as an expressionistic dramatist, was able to benefit not only by the example of Strindberg but also by the theories of Freud, Jung, and others. Doubtless he was indebted to the psychoanalysts for suggestions for material, but not for technique. We cannot help noting, however, that he has employed Freudian complexes as important factors in some of his non-expressionistic plays—*Mourning Becomes Electra*, for instance.

<sup>4</sup>In order to prevent this study from being vague, we shall be guided by control factors in expressionism established by Professor Carl Dahlström of the University of Michigan. The control factors which he used as norms for his study of Strindberg's dramas are as follows:

"1. *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*, solipsism, objectification of inner experience, struggle of opposites, autobiographical tendency, typification, monologue, the aside

"2. The Unconscious, *Einfühlung*, intuition, distortion, dream character, pantomime, telegram-style

"3. *Seele*, *ur-ishness*, feeling, ecstasy, *Schrei*, music

"4. Music, objectification of inner experience, lyricism, pure soul, verse, optical counterpoint

"5. Religion, the search for God, realization of God, battle with the 'Powers,' the supernatural

"6. The Worth of Man, social-political framework, an esoteric socialism, a spiritual brotherhood, realism, re-creation of human values

"The first item in each group should be considered the norm or control factor; the other items are given for fuller explanation.

"Expressionistic drama is mainly characterized by *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs* . . ."  
(Carl Dahlström, *Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1930, p. 80).

<sup>5</sup>Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup>Arthur Babillotte, Introduction to Strindberg's *Zones of the Spirit* (New York, 1913).

after spiritual treasure,"<sup>7</sup> might be applied with equal fitness to O'Neill. In like manner Richard Dana Skinner's statement concerning O'Neill might be applied to Strindberg: "He has searched into the depth of the larger soul of mankind itself."<sup>8</sup>

Both the Swedish and the American dramatist have shown marked trends toward mysticism. Strindberg has told us a great deal about his search for God, and O'Neill likewise has expressed his belief in "the impelling, inscrutable forces behind life."<sup>9</sup> But they have not been mystical enough to allow the things of this world to fade out; they have kept in touch with reality and have manifested sincere interest in the welfare of their fellow men. The largeness of the humanitarianism of Strindberg is indicated in the words of Maxim Gorki:

In a message after Strindberg's death, Maxim Gorki likened him to Danko, the hero of the old Danube legend, who, in order to help humanity out of the darkness of its problems, tore his heart out of his breast, lit it and holding it high, led the way.<sup>10</sup>

O'Neill's interest in humanity is indicated in his own statement: "If people leave the theatre after one of my plays with a feeling of compassion for those less fortunate than they, I am satisfied."<sup>11</sup>

Although their mystical and humanitarian interests are reflected in certain of their dramas in which the search for God and the stress on human values are employed as expressionistic factors, yet in this study we are more concerned with the fact that both Strindberg and O'Neill are supersubjective individuals—the type of individuals for which expressionism calls.<sup>12</sup> Strindberg is considered the father of expressionism in drama because he dared to project his own soul, his inner self, on the stage. He dramatized his struggles, his subjective states. Archibald Henderson refers to him as "the arch-subjectivist of our era,"<sup>13</sup> and adds: "Never did artist so persistently cleave to the centre of his own being in his effort to project for the world's inspection the inner significance of con-

<sup>7</sup> Edwin Björkman, *Voices of Tomorrow* (New York, 1913), p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Dana Skinner, *Eugene O'Neill: A Poet's Quest* (New York, 1935), p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Barrett H. Clark in *Eugene O'Neill: The Man and His Plays* (New York, 1936), p. 83.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by L. Lind-Af-Hageby in *August Strindberg* (New York, 1913), p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Carol Bird in "Eugene O'Neill: The Inner Man," *The Theatre*, XXXIX, 9 (June, 1924).

<sup>12</sup> See Dahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> Archibald Henderson, *European Dramatists* (New York, 1926), p. 19.

temporary existence."<sup>14</sup> Although O'Neill is not such a perfect embodiment of Marzynski's idea of an expressionist as is Strindberg, yet in him also we find "the world and ego flowing together in the supersubjective individual."<sup>15</sup> In writing of American dramatists, Joseph Wood Krutch notes: "No other temperament so completely subjective as that of O'Neill has ever been attracted to the contemporary theatre."<sup>16</sup>

And for the purpose of objectifying soul states and inner conflicts, both Strindberg and O'Neill found the realistic method and the naturalistic point of view of the contemporary drama to be inadequate. The former voiced his dissatisfaction with the type of drama which dealt with photographic reality, which "included everything, even the speck of dust upon the lens of the camera."<sup>17</sup> The latter complained, "We have endured too much from the banality of surfaces."<sup>18</sup>

We expect a young man of O'Neill's daring nature to admire a dramatist a few years his senior who had been courageous enough to break away from the established forms of expression. In 1912, about the time when O'Neill in his enforced leisure began to make his first experiments in dramatic art, Strindberg died. The Strindberg Theatre had been established five years earlier and the Swedish dramatist was in the public eye at this time. It is not surprising that O'Neill, when naming the authors he had read during his convalescence in 1913 and 1914, concluded by saying, "especially Strindberg."<sup>19</sup>

Neither is it surprising that at the opening of the Provincetown Playhouse in New York in 1923, O'Neill paid tribute to Strindberg as "the greatest interpreter in the theatre of the characteristic spiritual conflicts which constitute the drama—the blood of our lives today." But the part of this tribute which is most closely related to our study of O'Neill at present is that in which he recognized Strindberg as the father of expressionism in drama: "All that is enduring in what we loosely call 'expressionism'—all that is artistically valid and sound theatre—can be clearly traced back through

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Dahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Wood Krutch, "Drama," *Nation*, CXXVIII, 264 (Feb. 27, 1929).

<sup>17</sup> Quoted by L. Lind-Af-Hageby in *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Dickinson in *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted by Clark in *op. cit.*, p. 35.

Wedekind to Strindberg's 'The Dream Play,' 'There Are Crimes and Crimes,' 'The Spook Sonata,' etc."<sup>20</sup>

O'Neill was one of the members of the group, The Provincetown Players,<sup>21</sup> who produced two of Strindberg's expressionistic plays: *The Spook Sonata* in 1924 and *The Dream Play* in 1926.

He has made no acknowledgment of indebtedness to the German expressionistic dramatists, but he has told us that he studied the German language in order to be able to read the plays of Wedekind,<sup>22</sup> and that he had read Kaiser's *From Morn to Midnight* before it was produced in 1922 in New York.<sup>23</sup> It may be worth mentioning also that all the German expressionistic dramas in which we have found marked resemblances to certain plays of O'Neill were written before 1920, the date of his first experiment in expressionism. Several German expressionistic plays were produced in America in the twenties,<sup>24</sup> but information concerning these productions is of little assistance in our study of O'Neill. In this part of our investigation we shall have to rely almost entirely upon evidence drawn directly from the dramas.

We have already noted some of the opportunities which O'Neill had of becoming familiar with Continental expressionistic dramas, and his acknowledgment of indebtedness to Strindberg. We shall now examine the dramas of O'Neill which generally have been considered expressionistic.

In order to avoid repetition in the following discussion, I shall sometimes omit references to Strindberg as a source of influence on the plays in which music is employed as an expressionistic factor. But it is reasonable to believe that O'Neill has been strongly influenced by Strindberg's use of rhythm and of musical effects in his expressionistic dramas, especially by his practice of arranging the dialogue for emotional effect by picking up phrases and repeating them as in a musical composition. Carl Dahlström observes that Strindberg himself explained his use of musical-theme dialogue:

<sup>20</sup> "Strindberg and Our Theatre," Provincetown Playbill, No. 1, Season, 1923-24.

<sup>21</sup> After the organization had been revived by Eugene O'Neill, Kenneth MacGowan, and Robert Edmond Jones.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by Clark in *op. cit.*, p. 34. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>24</sup> The most important of these are Hasenclever's *Beyond*, 1925; Kaiser's *From Morn to Midnight*, 1922, and *Gas*, 1926; Toller's *Man and the Masses*, 1924, and *The Machine Wreckers*, 1927; and Werfel's *Goat Song*, 1926.

Wedekind's *The Awakening of Spring*, the last scene of which is expressionistic, was produced in New York as early as 1917.

"... the dialogue strays a good deal . . . it acquires a material that later is worked over, picked up again, repeated, expounded, and built up like the theme in a musical composition."<sup>25</sup>

## I

O'Neill made his first attempt at expressionistic drama in *The Emperor Jones* (1920).<sup>26</sup> This play is divided into eight short scenes rather than into the conventional number of acts. As usual in expressionistic drama, the spirit determines the form. In this case the interest centers in the radiation of fear from the mind of the main character of the play. For the depiction of different stages of rising fear and terror, a series of short scenes is very effective.

Here we have a good illustration of *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs* with emphasis on the subconscious. With the exception of the first and the last scenes, the entire play is a radiation of the ego of Brutus Jones, a type character, a symbol of the Negro race recently released from bondage.

The first shadows of fear which creep into the mind of Jones are objectified on the stage as Little Formless Fears, black, shapeless figures which creep out from the deeper blackness of the forest. They are symbols of a vague sense of uneasiness. But soon the visions take on more definite form. As his conscious mind becomes more benumbed by fear, memories from his subconscious mind rise in haunting shapes before him. Finally the visions come from the accumulated race memories which lie far below the realm of the conscious.

The incessant thump of the drum, a primitive manner of expressing intense emotion, is an appropriate accompaniment to a play in which primitive forces are so constantly in action. The ever louder, stronger, faster pulsing of the drum is a constant reminder of impending doom. The rhythmic sound helps the audience to share the emotion of the terrified Negro. "Unless we are Jones," says Ashley Dukes, "the drama fails."<sup>27</sup>

Although O'Neill has said that he never had a high opinion of

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>26</sup> Written in 1920; produced by the Provincetown Players, New York, in 1920. Since that time "*The Emperor Jones* has been played in every country of the world and is today the American theatre 'classic'" (*Theatre Arts Monthly*, XVII, 173-174, March, 1933).

<sup>27</sup> Ashley Dukes, *The Youngest Drama* (Chicago, 1924), p. 73.

Kaiser's *From Morn to Midnight* (1916),<sup>28</sup> yet in some respects his own *The Emperor Jones* is similar to the German play. In the latter, a type character, The Cashier, steals money from a bank and rushes forth in a wild search for self-expression. The routine of his life has been broken so suddenly that he is dazed. He wanders around as in a dream. In his deranged mental state he casts off so many of the restraints of civilized life that he becomes almost primitive. He is presented to the audience against a vague, shadowy background, and distorted visions from his subconscious mind are projected on the stage.

In dialogue and in stage directions, there is a similarity between the third scene of Kaiser's play in which The Cashier trudges across a snow-covered field through a tangle of low-hanging branches, and the scenes of O'Neill's play in which The Emperor Jones wanders in the jungle. The similarity in dialogue may be illustrated in a brief quotation:

*The Cashier.* . . . Here I work like mad to efface my tracks and then betray myself by two bits of dirty linen . . . Turn the trick and run.      *Jones.* . . . heah I is shootin' shots to let 'em know jes' whar I is! Oh, Gorry, I'se got to run.\*

Of the distorted visions which appear in these scenes, those most nearly alike are the skeleton with grinning jaws which The Cashier sees in a tree, and the ghosts of murdered victims which Jones sees in front of him.

Of Strindberg's expressionistic dramas, the one which *The Emperor Jones* resembles most closely is *To Damascus*, I (1898). In the latter, we have a dramatic monologue in the expressionistic sense of the word. "From the expressionistic point of view," says Carl Dahlström, "the whole play is a dramatic monologue."<sup>29</sup> The same may be said of *The Emperor Jones* with the exception of the first and the last scenes. In Strindberg's play in the "half-reality" of a dream, The Unknown meets other characters who are "manifestations of his 'self.'"<sup>30</sup> Some of these persons are reminders of past guilt. In O'Neill's play, likewise, the phantoms which Jones must

\* All quotations from the plays of O'Neill in this article are reprinted by special permission of Random House, Inc., Publishers.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted by Clark in *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

face are radiations from his own tortured mind, and are reminders of past guilt.

There is a similarity in the arrangement of scenes in *To Damascus* and *The Emperor Jones*. The former begins at a street corner, proceeds through a series of scenes, and ends at the same street corner. In O'Neill's play there is no repetition but the action ends at the same place at which it started. In the last scene, one of the soldiers points to the spot where he entered the forest.

One of the most noticeable points of difference between the two dramas is the closer relation of *To Damascus* to the author. O'Neill has told us, however, that the idea of the tropical forest as presented in *The Emperor Jones* was derived from his own experience while prospecting for gold in the Philippines. Evidently he has added to this experience a study of the Negro, and has made use of Jung's theory of unconscious memories which lie far below the conscious mind. But he has absorbed all these experiences and ideas so thoroughly that he is able to present them subjectively.

Although he has explained that the idea of the use of the forest in this play was gained from reading of the religious drama of the Congo,<sup>32</sup> it is likely that the thought of making the play set in a tropical forest appealed to him more strongly because of the emphasis Strindberg had placed on rhythm and musical effect in his expressionistic drama.

At any rate, the points of likeness between *To Damascus* and *The Emperor Jones*, especially in expressionistic elements such as the radiation of the ego and dramatic monologue, indicate that Strindberg was an important influence on O'Neill at this time.

## II

O'Neill again transcends the limits of realism and naturalism in *The Hairy Ape*,<sup>33</sup> a play which the author himself has described as "a much greater departure in form than *Jones*."<sup>34</sup> An examination of *The Hairy Ape* furnishes evidence that O'Neill's departure

<sup>31</sup> *New York World*, Nov. 9, 1924.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Written in 1921; produced by the Provincetown Players, New York, in 1922. At that time it has been produced in various parts of the United States and in

<sup>34</sup> Letter of Feb. 5, 1922, quoted by Arthur Hobson Quinn in *A History of American Drama* (New York, 1936), p. 183.

tional form in this drama in order to venture farther into the field of expressionism.

Again we have a good illustration of *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs* in the form of monologues or soliloquies, and again we have a type character. In fact, typification is much more clearly marked here than in the preceding play. Yank is primitive man trying to find something to which he belongs. He is, as the author explains, "a symbol of man who has lost his old harmony with nature, the harmony which he used to have as an animal and has not yet acquired in a spiritual way."<sup>35</sup>

The interest in this play centers in the soul struggle of Yank. When he sees Mildred shrink back in horror from him, his pride and self-confidence are shattered. Doubt and hate enter his soul. The conflict which begins in this scene is more than a class struggle. It is the inner conflict of a man who is trying to emerge from a brutal state of existence in which he can no longer find satisfaction. Yank, like all expressionistic type characters, becomes significant, not for what he does in a particular environment, but for what he symbolizes in a universal struggle. When this half-man, half-beast is unable to go forward, he attempts to be brother to the brute. But when he shakes hands with the gorilla, the result is death. Man, a being with a soul, cannot find satisfaction in mere animal instinct. He cannot go back to the beast.

Yank's death in a steel cage makes the symbolism of the play complete.<sup>36</sup> When he becomes conscious, early in the play, of the barrier between his world and the world to which Mildred belongs, he feels that he is hemmed in by bars of steel. The firemen's forecastle and the cells of the prison become cages. The procession of gaudy marionettes on Fifth Avenue is also a cage against the bars of which he beats in vain. In these scenes we have splendid illustrations of distortion which results from radiation of the ego. Surface reality is distorted in order that we may see these settings as they appear to Yank's troubled mind.

References not only to the cage but also to the word "steel" are repeated in the musical-theme dialogue of the play. In the first scene Yank is so proud of his strength that he boasts, "And I'm

<sup>35</sup> New York *Herald Tribune*, Nov. 16, 1924.

<sup>36</sup> "The use of symbols is not necessarily expressionistic, but is nevertheless in accordance with the practice in expressionism" (Dahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 188).



steel, steel, steel. . . ." But later he wants to blow the steel works off the earth. And in the latter part of the play he still thinks of things that are made of steel.

Throughout the play an attempt is made to produce a rhythmic effect, even in the noise of the stokehole. According to the stage directions for the third scene:

The men shovel with a rhythmic motion . . . This clash of sound stuns one's ears . . . But there is order in it, rhythm, a mechanical regulated recurrence, a tempo.

It is evident that O'Neill builds up the dialogue and the action in this play by a pattern arrangement because he is striving for a certain emotional effect rather than for verisimilitude in speech and in action. In the stage directions for the first scene he states: "The treatment of this scene, or of any other scene in the play, should by no means be naturalistic."

The emphasis which is placed on *Seele*, or feeling, results not only in rhythmic effects such as we have noted, but also, in lyricism. At times the language of Yank and of Paddy is touched by poetic exaltation. Some of O'Neill's best lyric poetry is found in the first scene of this play in which Paddy voices his longing for the good old days of the sailing vessels. For instance:

Oh, to be scudding south again wid the power of the Trade Wind driving her on steady through the nights and through the days! Full sail on her! Nights and days! Nights when the foam of the wake would be flaming wid fire, when the sky'd be blazing and winking wid stars. . . .

Emphasis is placed also on human values. In the first scene Yank is willing to be merely a part of the machine. In contrast to him is Paddy, who insists that the stokers are feeding their lives into the furnaces along with the coal. When the Irish stoker asks Yank, "Is it a flesh and blood wheel of the engines you'd be?" he reminds us of the Billionaire's Son in Kaiser's *Gas*, I (1918), who argues that man should be more than a hand—more than a part of the machine.<sup>37</sup> And, despite the fact that O'Neill places less stress on human values than does Kaiser, yet in Act III he presents a contrast between the life of the idle rich and that of the stokers

<sup>37</sup> Act IV.

which bears a general resemblance to the contrast in Act II of another of Kaiser's plays, *The Coral* (1917). In the German play the author shows the attitude of the wealthy passengers on the Billionaire's yacht toward a stoker who is brought on deck after he has collapsed from a heatstroke. O'Neill adds to the effectiveness of the scene by presenting a number of stokers shoveling coal into the flaming furnaces; and he emphasizes the contrast between the life of the idle rich and that of the grimy workers by bringing Mildred Douglas down from the first cabin to visit the stokehole.

Autobiographical tendency is evident in this play. O'Neill's life on the sea has made him familiar with these characters and these settings. He has worked with ordinary seamen, has sung songs with them, and has shared their hardships. On the New York water front he associated with an Irish stoker who later killed himself in mid-ocean. Doubtless the sensitive author was deeply impressed by these experiences. But in objectifying in dramatic form the soul struggle of the stoker in this play, he has not depended upon experience alone. Evidence points to the conclusion that he has been aided by the example of other dramatists, especially of Strindberg. Certain scenes of *The Hairy Ape* bear marked resemblances to scenes which had been presented by the Swedish dramatist a few years earlier.

In Strindberg's expressionistic drama, *The Dream Play* (1902), the Daughter of the Gods, Indra's daughter, comes down to Earth to share the experiences of mankind. In *The Hairy Ape*, a drama of the same type, Mildred Douglas is the daughter of the President of the Steel Trust rather than the Daughter of the Gods. She is, however, representative of a world different from the one to which the stokers belong. When she comes from the cool, fresh air of the first cabin to the hot, murky atmosphere of the stokehole, and dressed in white, stands before the grimy workers, the contrast between the two worlds is impressive. Although the antithesis here cannot be called the struggle of opposites, it is closely related to that expressionistic factor.

There is a striking resemblance between the fore-castle and stoke-hole scenes in *The Hairy Ape* and the scene of the coalheavers in Strindberg's *The Dream Play*. Antithesis between the rich and the poor, and emphasis on human values are noticeable features of these

parallel scenes. The ideas expressed are almost exactly the same, and the similarity in phrasing is arresting:

*The Dream Play*

(To the right a huge pile of coal and two wheelbarrows . . . two coalheavers, naked to the waist, their faces, hands, and bodies blackened by coal dust, are seated on the wheelbarrows. Their expressions show intense despair . . .)

. . . . .

(The Daughter and the Lawyer in the background. . . .)

. . . . .

*First Coalheaver.* This is hell.

*Second Coalheaver.* One hundred and twenty degrees in the shadow. . . .

*First Heaver.* What have we done? We have been born of poor and perhaps not very good parents. Maybe we've been punished a couple of times. . . .

*Second Heaver.* Yes, the unpunished hang out in the Casino up there and dine on eight courses and wine. . . .

*First Heaver.* And yet we are the foundation of society. . . .

. . . . .

*The Hairy Ape*

(The stokehole . . . murky air laden with coal dust. . . . A line of men stripped to the waist. . . . One or two are arranging the coal behind them. . . . The others can be dimly made out leaning on their shovels in relaxed attitudes of exhaustion . . .)

. . . . .

(At this instant the Second and Fourth Engineers enter with Mildred between them.)

. . . . .

*Long.* This is 'ell. We lives in 'ell. . . .

. . . and who's ter blame, I asks yer? We ain't. . . . We wasn't born this rotten way. . . .

. . . Hit's them ter blame . . . the damned Capitalist clarrs! . . .

*Yank.* We run de whole woiks. All de rich guys dat tink dey's somep'n, dey ain't nothin! But us guys, we're in de move, we're at de bottom, de whole ting is us! . . .

. . . . .

(Children enter and cry with horror when they catch sight of the grimy workers.)

*Paddy.* [telling of Mildred's shrinking away from Yank] She shriveled away with her hands over her eyes to shut out the sight of him!

...

*Yank.* And her eyes, dey was like dey'd seen a ghost. Me, dat was!

In Strindberg's play *The Daughter* shows a great deal of sympathy for suffering humanity. Her inquiry, "Why don't men do something to improve their lot?" reminds us of the complaint which Yank makes to the policeman who questions his conduct: "... Lock me up! Put me in a cage! Dat's de on'y answer yuh know. ..."

The questioning spirit of Yank in *The Hairy Ape* is similar to that of The Unknown in Strindberg's *To Damascus*. The latter can never find satisfactory answers to his questions. Yank, likewise, seeks in vain for the light. The Unknown asks: "Why is man born here an ignorant creature, ignorant of laws, customs, conventions, which one breaks out of ignorance and then gets beaten for it?" Yank has a similar feeling of bewilderment when he is thrown out by the I.W.W. To a policeman who inquires a few minutes later what he had done, Yank explains, "I was born, see? Sure, dat's de charge." When The Mother in *To Damascus* says to The Unknown, "Do you never grow weary of asking?" he replies, "No, Never! I long for light, you see!" Yank also continues to ask questions. Shortly before his death he inquires, "Where do I get off at? Where do I fit in?"

In fact, we find in *The Hairy Ape* many reminders of the example of the Swedish master. We have already noted O'Neill's statement that he considers this play a departure from traditional form; and we find that in no other play has he employed so many expressionistic factors as in this one. Since in his departure from traditional form he has experimented with a number of such factors, it is reasonable to believe that he was influenced by Strindberg, whom he recognized as father of expressionism in drama. The most significant of these expressionistic elements are the following: *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*, autobiographical tendency, typification, monologue, distortion, *ur-ishness* (or, at least, primitivity), music (musi-

cal-theme dialogue and rhythmic sound effects), lyricism, and emphasis on human values.

## III

In his next expressionistic drama, *The Great God Brown*,<sup>38</sup> O'Neill probes into the problem of man's search for inner unity and harmony. Inner conflicts can be presented more effectively in expressionistic drama than in drama of the ordinary pattern, but it seems generally to be agreed that the technique made use of in *The Great God Brown* is at times somewhat confusing.

The universal nature of the subject matter of this play is indicated in the author's statement that here he is concerned with the "background pattern of conflicting tides in the soul of Man . . . the mystery . . . in any life on earth." Subject matter of universal scope calls for type characters rather than for individuals in a particular environment.

Two of the type characters, Dion Anthony and William Brown, are symbols of subjective and objective principles which are not united in one person until near the end of Act II. But these two characters, who are about eighteen years of age when we meet them, are always closely associated. They love the same girl, attend the same school, take the same course of study, and later become partners in business. Dion Anthony, the subjective type, is the imaginative, sensitive, creative artist; William Brown, the objective type, is the unimaginative, stolid materialist.

In addition to typification, radiation of the ego is an expressionistic factor in this play. The most serious inner conflict is that between Dion Anthony's pagan self and his Christian self. In order to hide his sensitive, spiritual self, he assumes a defiant, pagan exterior; he wears a mask of the young Pan.<sup>39</sup> Gradually his early pagan acceptance of life gives way to self-indulgence; his personality changes under the strain of the conflict between his self-indul-

<sup>38</sup> Written in 1925; produced by the Greenwich Village Theatre, New York, in 1926.

<sup>39</sup> Throughout the play the mask is put on to indicate the self that is being shown to the world, and is taken off to reveal the inner, the secret self. Furthermore, as Dion's personality changes, his mask becomes more Mephistophelean; and, after his death, his mask becomes the symbol of his personality, which is transferred to Brown.

Although the use of masks is as old as Greek drama, yet I think it is safe to say that this is the first play in which masks have been used to differentiate the hidden from the public self, to indicate a gradual change in personality, and, finally, to indicate a transfer of personality.

gent outer nature and his self-renouncing inner nature. The expression of the inner self in audible thinking when the mask is removed, corresponds to an aside.

Dion Anthony's wife, Margaret, knows nothing about his soul struggle. She never knows Anthony, the inner man; but she is both wife and mother to Dion, the outer man, whom she loves with a possessive love. As a type character,<sup>40</sup> she is not only the wife-mother, the maternal feminine, but also the possessive female.

It is Cybel who is the real Pantheistic Earth Mother. To the world she wears the mask of the prostitute, but to Dion, who can see into the heart of reality, she is the pure, wise friend and mother who gives him strength to die.

Shortly before his death, Dion makes his last will and testament: "I leave Dion Anthony to William Brown—for him to become me. . . ." The technique which is used to indicate the transfer of personality is the mask of Dion which Brown puts on after the death of the former. The mask is the symbol of the subjective, imaginative qualities which Brown lacks.

In this play, Dion possesses that for which Brown yearns, as in Kaiser's *The Coral* (1917) The Secretary possesses that for which The Billionaire yearns. We recall that the life of The Billionaire had been clouded by horrible events in his youth, from the memory of which he is trying to flee. He longs for the memory of a quiet and peaceful early life such as The Secretary has actually experienced. He is haunted by the presence of The Secretary, who wears, as a watch charm, a coral, the symbol of the memory of a happy youth. When The Billionaire places on his own watch chain the coral which he has removed from the dead body of The Secretary, he is doing practically the same thing which Brown does when he places on his own face the mask of the dead Dion. Both The Billionaire and Brown wish to secure happiness by sinking themselves in other personalities.

Although Brown seems to be stronger for a short time after he begins to wear Dion's mask, his submerged self gradually becomes weaker as a result of the transfer of personality. After he inherits

<sup>40</sup> The fact that Margaret is meant to be a type character rather than an individual is indicated in the stage directions early in the play: "On her entrance, her face is masked by an exact, almost transparent reproduction of her own features, but giving her the abstract quality of a Girl instead of the individual, Margaret."

Dion's sensitive, imaginative nature, he is tormented by the magic touch of life which he has lacked.

At last Brown's submerged and tortured self, as Dion's inner self had done, discards the Pan-Mephistophelean mask and dies repeating the prayer, *Our Father Who Art!* Thus the author stresses the idea that "Only he that has wept can laugh." All of life, including suffering, must be accepted without fear. Brown, in dying, rises above the suffering and the frustrations of life to a note of exaltation, of ecstatic lyricism. We have noted that O'Neill, like Strindberg, has been concerned with the question: Why does man suffer? Here we find at least a partial answer to that question. Brown's final victory shows the creative power of human suffering.

It is evident that the search for God is an important expressionistic factor in this play. Dion Anthony, the creative artist, confesses: "I got paint on my paws in an endeavor to see God." O'Neill gives the Pantheistic Earth Mother such a prominent part in this play that one wonders whether he believed, at this time, that she had the answer to the problem of inner unity and harmony. In the published explanation of the play, he points out that it is Cybel "who makes the assertion with authority, *Our Father Who Art,*" and he refers to Christianity, "once heroic in martyrs for its intense faith, now pleading weakly for intense belief in anything, even Godhead itself."

Without straining the evidence of autobiographical tendency, we may say that in Dion Anthony the author presents a character similar to himself in at least two respects: he is a sensitive, creative artist; and he is engaged in the search for God. The fact that in his later plays O'Neill shows a deep interest in the problem of man's relation to God, lends plausibility to the idea that his own inner conflict has been similar to that of Dion Anthony.

In addition to the expressionistic characteristics which have already been cited, such as radiation of the inner self, search for God, typification, autobiographical tendency, and lyricism, there is also musical-theme dialogue in this play. The phrase, "My lover, my husband, and my boy," occurs several times; and an evident attempt is made to round the circle by repeating in the epilogue words and sounds which are used in the beginning of the play, especially the lament for the past: "The nights are so much colder now than

they 'used to be . . . The moonlight was so warm and beautiful in those days." There is also repetition in the epilogue of the expression, "The moon is drowned in the tides of my heart, and peace sinks deep through the sea."

We have already noted that this play is similar, in certain respects, to Kaiser's *The Coral* (1917); we should also note that it bears a general resemblance to Werfel's *Mirror-Man* (1920), a drama in which Thamal's higher self struggles against his indulging, amoral self. But, unlike Dion, Thamal expiates for his sins and is born to a new spiritual life.

The expressionistic factors of this play which point most directly to Strindberg as a source of influence are musical-theme dialogue and the search for God. But it is likely that O'Neill was influenced also by Strindberg's use of split personality in the expressionistic manner. In the foreword to *The Dream Play*, Strindberg explains: "The characters split, double, multiply, vanish, solidify, blur, clarify." Although this statement, as a whole, cannot be applied to *The Great God Brown*, it is reasonable to believe that at least a part of the complexity of the play may be attributed to the example of the Swedish dramatist.

#### IV

In *Lazarus Laughed*<sup>41</sup> there is a continuation of the note of exultation on which *The Great God Brown* closed. No longer does fear of the outer world drive the inner self into hiding. On the contrary, fear has been overcome—even fear of death. In this drama, Lazarus is placed in trying situations and is brought into contact with various groups of people. Life is dealt with on so large a scale that devices such as symbols and types are necessary.

The various types of humanity are marked by the masks which they wear. But Lazarus wears no mask. There is nothing in his inner life which he seeks to hide from the gaze of men. He has escaped from fear and has been united with the eternal forces of life. His joyous laugh which resounds throughout the play may be considered a symbol of the freedom from fear which comes from accepting life as a whole. It is "a laugh so full of complete acceptance of life, a profound assertion of joy in living."

<sup>41</sup> Written in 1926; produced by the Pasadena Community Playhouse in 1928.



The contrast of opposites is especially marked in the scene in which the spiritual-minded Lazarus, surrounded by an aura of light, stands in Rome ready to meet Tiberius and Caligula, symbols of earthly power.

The conflict between opposites finally results in the order that Lazarus be burned at the stake. But amid the flames of the Roman amphitheater the voice of Lazarus thrills with exultation as he proclaims his freedom from fear.

The play is full of ecstatic fervor. In the triumphant laugh of Lazarus there is a continual note of exultation. One of the marked characteristics of the whole is the musical effect which is produced by the chanting of the choruses and by the lyric quality of the language. Much of the laughter is in rhythmic cadences. Rhythmic refrains run through the play. The musical-theme dialogue becomes somewhat monotonous, but in the last scene the repetition of words and sounds used in the first scene contributes to the rhythmic integration of the play—gives to it the rhythmic integration which was one of the goals of the expressionistic painters. The most significant expressionistic characteristics are typification, struggle of opposites, ecstasy, and lyricism.

*Lazarus Laughed* presents life on a larger scale than does Werfel's *Mirror-Man*, but the general idea of accepting all that life implies, including death, is similar in the two dramas. In the latter, Thamal is not born to a new spiritual life until he voluntarily drinks the death potion.

v

In *Strange Interlude*,<sup>42</sup> a play of nine acts which presents the characters at intervals through a period of about twenty-five years, opportunity is given for a revelation of both the inner and the outer life of each. The inner self is revealed by means of asides. The characters not only speak aloud; they think aloud.<sup>43</sup>

The fact that the others on the stage are not supposed to hear the asides gives the audience the illusion of sharing the hidden thoughts which are being revealed. I believe it is true, however,

<sup>42</sup> Written in 1927; produced by the Theatre Guild, New York, in 1928.

<sup>43</sup> Monologues and asides have been given new emphasis and new meaning in expressionistic drama. With Shakespeare, for example, asides were of secondary importance; they were frequently employed to gather up loose ends of information necessary to an understanding of the plot. But in expressionistic drama, asides may be of primary importance; they may be employed as a means of objectifying the subjective.

that some of the asides of this play belong to the novelistic "stream of consciousness" rather than to dramatic expressionism.<sup>44</sup> But on the whole we may accept Rosamond Gilder's opinion: "Handled by Mr. O'Neill, this technique achieves now and again a surprising force. He conducts us into the secret places of the mind, and we feel the sudden uprush of forces that lie below the level of the conscious thought."<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the emanations from the subconscious, another expressionistic factor in this play is the struggle of opposites in the love affair between Nina Evans and Dr. Ned Darrell.

In her efforts to win Darrell for her lover, Nina is reckless, possessive, and almost totally lacking in moral sense.<sup>46</sup> She may be compared to Lulu in Wedekind's *Erdgeist* and to Alice in Strindberg's *The Dance of Death*. As a symbol of the power of the senses, the lure of the flesh, she is similar to the former; but she is too cunning, too calculating, for that type. In her deliberate attempt to dominate the opposite sex, she is more like one of Strindberg's feline creatures.

In Strindberg's *The Dance of Death* (1901), the sex struggle is very intense. For twenty-five years Alice and her husband, the Captain, have been torturing each other, but there is enough love between them to keep them from separating from each other. They continue to live together on a small island called "Little Hell." Both the husband and wife have thrown off the restraints of conventional life to such an extent that they have become almost primitive man and woman.

Among the reasons given by Carl Dahlström for his opinion

<sup>44</sup> Dahlström notes that *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs* is partly explained by the phrase "stream of consciousness," but that "stream of consciousness" offers too frequently the possibility of itemization of the elements of consciousness, lingers too close to the realm of psychology. For the expressionist, consciousness is no manifoldly die punch press turning out countless items of similar or dissimilar pattern. It is rather a unifying instrument that moulds oneness of the countless items poured into it (*op. cit.*, pp. 49-50).

<sup>45</sup> Rosamond Gilder, "Plays Bound and Unbound," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XIII, 363 (May, 1928).

<sup>46</sup> The difficulty of explaining Nina's actions throughout the play by saying that she is in a neurotic state is more apparent when we come to Acts V, VI, and VII. In Act V, a few months after the beginning of her affair with Darrell, the stage directions state: "One gets no impression of neurotic strain from her now. She seems nerveless and deeply calm." In Act VI, a little over a year later, we see "an expression of present contentment and calm"; and in Act VII, nearly eleven years later, "she appears in the pink of physical condition."

that *The Dance of Death* is expressionistic rather than naturalistic, the following are especially convincing:

The struggle of sex is elemental, and the two primitive creatures might well fit into any drama of German expressionism. The whole drama is the reflection from Strindberg's ego, not a Strindbergian imitation of observed reality. . . .

. . . Here we have an unending conflict. Not only the whole twenty-five years of this particular matrimonial struggle live in the play, but the passionate struggle of the sexes surges through all time in the warfare of the Captain and his wife. . . .

. . . The play as a whole is Strindberg's attempt to give universality to his own experience in the matrimonial struggle.<sup>47</sup>

If we accept Professor Dahlström's interpretation of the struggle of the sexes in Strindberg's *The Dance of Death*, I think that we are led to conclude that the love affair of Nina and Darrell in O'Neill's *Strange Interlude*, even though less intense, should be interpreted in a similar manner.

The influence of Strindberg on *Strange Interlude* is recognized by Barrett H. Clark:

For one thing the shade of Strindberg hovers too close over it all; there is something strained, a bit diagrammatic and intellectualized in the character of Nina. She is rather too special—too much the female of the species. If Nina is the inimical *Erdgeist*, she is at the same time the Earth Mother. Or rather, she ought to be. Woman, the beast of prey, is Strindberg's invention.<sup>48</sup>

But the fact that Nina is "too much the female of the species" helps to place her as a type character. She, like Alice in *The Dance of Death*, becomes significant as Woman engaged in the eternal war of the sexes. Nina is not so cruel as Alice; it is not necessary that she should be. But she is just as determined to dominate the opposite sex as is Alice. She makes use of all the cunning and cruelty which are required in her particular case. She confesses that she deliberately tries to win Darrell as her lover: "I could feel him fighting with himself . . . and I said nothing . . . I made myself be calculating."<sup>49</sup>

Strindberg's idea of woman as less honest and more crafty than

<sup>47</sup> Dahlström, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-115.

<sup>48</sup> Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>49</sup> Act V.

man<sup>50</sup> may be applied in the scene in which Nina, forgetful of her husband's happiness, asks Darrell to marry her.

*Darrell.* . . . And how about Sam? Divorce him? Have you forgotten all his mother told you? Do you mean to say you'd deliberately —? And you expect me to —? What do you think I am?

*Nina.* (inflexibly) You're my lover! Nothing else matters. . . .

*Darrell.* . . . got me where she wants me! . . . then be as cruel to me as she is to him!<sup>51</sup>

Darrell leaves immediately for Europe, but is tortured by his longing for Nina. He comes back, and it is he who proposes this time that she divorce Sam. She opposes this plan, not because of any high sense of honor, but because she realizes that she now has such a hold on Darrell that she can keep him and also keep Sam and her son. She now asks Darrell to become her secret lover. At this point she shows no consideration for Sam, and no concern for the fact that she is ruining the doctor's career. Again he shows a higher moral sense than she.

*Darrell.* You mean—I can be your lover again?

*Nina.* . . . Isn't that the nearest we can come to making everyone happy? That's all that counts.

*Darrell.* . . . And is that what you call playing fair to Sam?<sup>52</sup>

Sometimes Darrell almost hates Nina. He often resolves to break away from her entirely, but for several years he continues to come back to her in spite of his resolutions to stay away. He does, however, finally succeed in overcoming his love for her. The war of the sexes at last comes to an end in this play; but in Strindberg's *The Dance of Death* it is evident that only death will end the struggle between Alice and the Captain. Although the love-hate element is stronger in Strindberg's play than in O'Neill's, the attracting and the repelling power of love is clearly presented in both conflicts:

*The Dance of Death*

*Strange Interlude*

*Alice.* And we—

*Nina.* (exasperatedly) Oh, Ned,

*Captain.* Have probably been set do shut up! I can't stand hearing

<sup>50</sup> August Strindberg, *The Confessions of a Fool* (New York, 1925), p. 268.

<sup>51</sup> Act V.

<sup>52</sup> Act VI.

to torment each other—so it seems at least!

*Alice.* Have we tormented each other enough? . . .

. . . . .

*Alice.* I don't quite understand—Are they congratulating you because you are sick?

*Captain.* Hyena! . . .

. . . . .

*Curt.* . . . my dear Alice, I know your tyrannical and cruel temperament.

. . . . .

*Alice.* You have taught the child to lie!

*Captain.* I didn't need to, for you had taught her already. . . .

. . . . .

*Curt.* Do you know why you are hating each other?

*Alice.* No, it is the most unreasonable hatred, without cause, without purpose, but also without end. And can you imagine why he is principally afraid of death? He fears that I may marry again.

*Curt.* Then he loves you.

*Alice.* Probably. But that does not prevent him from hating me.

*Curt.* (As if to himself) It is called love-hatred and it hails from the pit!

. . . . .

those same old reproaches I've heard a thousand times before! I can't bear to hear myself making the same old bitter counter-accusations. And then there'll be the same old terrible scene of hate and you'll run away. . . . Or I'll send you away, and then after a time I'll call you back. . . .

. . . . .

*Darrell.* (repulsed) Nina! How can you be so inhuman and calculating! . . .

. . . . .

*Charlie.* . . . much as I hate this man I can't help feeling sorry . . . I know her cruelty . . .

. . . . .

*Darrell.* . . . Liar! But I can do something else! I can smash your calculating game for you! . . .

. . . . .

*Darrell.* (thinking bitterly) Sometimes I almost hate her! . . .

. . . . .

*Darrell.* (thinking with apathetic bitterness) . . . our love! well, whatever it was that bound us together, it's strong! I've broken with her, run away, tried to forget her . . . running away to come back each time more abject . . . or, if she saw there was some chance I might break away, she'd find some way to call me back. . . .

. . . . .

*Alice.* While still engaged we parted twice; since then we have been trying to part every single day—but we are chained together and cannot break away.

*Darrell.* . . . Why do I continue hanging around here? . . . each time after a few months my love changes to bitterness. . . .

*Nina.* . . . You never leave before we've come to the ugly bitter stage when we blame each other!

Doubtless this is the part of *Strange Interlude* over which the shade of Strindberg hovers closest. In creating the character of Nina, O'Neill may have been influenced somewhat by Wedekind's Lulu in *Erdgeist*, but apparently he was influenced more strongly by Strindberg's Alice in *The Dance of Death*.

## VI

In his later expressionistic dramas, O'Neill has turned directly to the subject of religion. We have already noted in his published explanation of *The Great God Brown* his reference to "Christianity, once heroic in martyrs for its intense faith, now pleading weakly for intense belief in anything, even Godhead itself." This idea was so interesting to him that he announced his intention of writing a trilogy on religion; but, since the first of these plays, *Dynamo*,<sup>53</sup> was unsuccessful on the stage, he has never completed the project.

He himself states the theme of *Dynamo* in a letter to George Jean Nathan:

It is a symbolical and factual biography of what is happening in a large section of the American (and not only American) soul right now. It is really the first play of a trilogy that will dig at the roots of the sickness of today as I feel it—the death of the old God and the failure of science and materialism to give any satisfactory new one for the surviving primitive religious instinct to find a meaning for life in, and to comfort its fear of death with.<sup>54</sup>

In presenting this subject, the author makes use of type characters and of symbols. Reuben Light, the main character of the play, is typical of the young men of a materialistic age who, having lost faith in the old God, are trusting in science to such an extent that they are making of it a new god.

<sup>53</sup> Written in 1928; produced by the Theatre Guild, New York, in 1929.

<sup>54</sup> George Jean Nathan, "The Theatre," *American Mercury*, XVI, 119 (Jan., 1929).

In his longing for truth Reuben prays to the Dynamo. His prayers become meaningful only when we think of the machine-god as the symbol of the power of science in which many men of the materialistic age are putting their trust.

But the prayers are not the only emanations from the tortured mind of Reuben. In lengthy soliloquies he expresses his devotion to the Dynamo. At last he throws his arms around it and meets death as the current short-circuits through his body.

The Dynamo is different from the man-made gods of former times; idols of stone and of wood did not destroy the men who made them. But in the age of science, as Kaiser indicates in his drama, *Gas*,<sup>55</sup> men are destroyed by the machines which they create, by a force which they themselves have set in motion.

In Kaiser's *Gas*, man becomes a victim of the god of science in which he places his trust. In O'Neill's *Dynamo*, man is destroyed by the god of science to which he utters his prayers for knowledge of truth. Barrett H. Clark observes in his study of O'Neill: "Whether he had read or heard about Kaiser's *Gas* trilogy I can't say, but *Dynamo* offers certain parallels to that remarkable work."<sup>56</sup>

## VII

In his latest expressionistic drama, *Days Without End*,<sup>57</sup> O'Neill again employs the theme of the loss of faith in the old God and the search for a new one, which is the central idea of *Dynamo*, and again he deals with dual personality, a type of character which he had introduced in *The Great God Brown*. He ties these ideas together by presenting a character who becomes a divided self as the result of loss of religious faith early in life.

John Loving, the main character of the play, attempts to find in human love a substitute for his old faith. But he is unable to be wholly devoted to his wife. The old doubts and violent impulses which have been crowded down into his subconscious mind are so strong that he is a man divided against himself. In the opinion of Stark Young: "The motif of John's early revulsion into doubt and violence and the later translation of this into a subconscious desire to destroy the love that gives him life, is remarkable as both theatrical and spiritual creation."<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Part I written in 1918; Part II, 1920. <sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>57</sup> Written in 1932; produced by the Theatre Guild, New York, in 1934.

<sup>58</sup> Stark Young, "Days Without End," *New Republic*, LXXVII, 312 (Jan. 24, 1934).

At last John pours out his troubled thoughts in prayer to God and wins a victory over his doubting self, Loving. But O'Neill fails to give full expression to the mystic exaltation with which the play ends.

In this play, John's struggle to be free from his doubting, destructive self is very much like the struggle of Thamal in Werfel's *Mirror-Man* (1920). Both of these characters are tortured by wishes from the subconscious mind which come to them as temptations from the Evil Self. The death-wish from Thamal's subconscious mind is directed against his father, the embodiment of parental restraint. In John's case, a similar death-wish is directed against his wife, the embodiment of restraint in love.

Another point of similarity between the inner conflicts of these characters consists in the fact that both Thamal and John are re-born to a new realization of their spiritual selves. In *Mirror-Man*, the negating, cynical, destructive self retreats into the mirror. In *Days Without End*, the doubting, mocking, destructive self dies at the foot of the Cross.<sup>59</sup>

Although there is danger of placing too much stress on the autobiographical element in the plays of O'Neill in which he deals with man's search for God, it is evident that he shows a sympathetic understanding of the spiritual conflicts of man. He himself has declared: "Most modern men are concerned with the relation between man and man, but that does not interest me at all. I am interested only in the relation between man and God."<sup>60</sup> O'Neill, like Strindberg and the German expressionistic dramatists, is concerned with eternal issues.

As a result of this study, I am convinced that O'Neill's indebtedness to Continental expressionistic dramas and dramatists, especially to Strindberg, is greater than has generally been recognized. But, in spite of this conclusion, I find that a careful study of O'Neill's expressionistic dramas gives one an increased appreciation of the genius of O'Neill as a dramatic artist.

<sup>59</sup> It is reasonable to believe that O'Neill, an alert young dramatist who was inclined to think in terms of the theater, would be influenced by a drama such as Werfel's *Mirror-Man* (1920), in which certain recent theories concerning the subconscious mind are combined with the old idea of the conflict between man's "lower" and his "higher" self—a combination of post-Freudian and Faustian drama. It is evident, however, that O'Neill places more emphasis on the search for God than does Werfel. The ending of *Days Without End* is more in accord with orthodox religion than is the ending of *Mirror-Man*.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted by Joseph Wood Krutch in Introduction to *Nine Plays by Eugene O'Neill* (New York, 1932), p. xvii.



## MUCKRAKING IN THE GILDED AGE

EDWARD E. CASSADY  
*San Francisco State College*

WE HAVE come to look upon the era of the muckrakers—the first decade and a half of the twentieth century—as a significant turning point in America's attitude toward the facts of social life. Recognizing its excesses, we nevertheless believe that muckraking was a healthy phenomenon, indicating a willingness to examine the structural and moral weaknesses in our social organization. We view this era as a period of self-examination that must inevitably precede and accompany a reformist movement.

We have fallen into a serious misconception, however, in assuming that the muckraking era followed a long period of public and literary complacency toward social evils. The connotations of the term "Gilded Age" have been taken so literally as to constitute a real barrier to an intelligent understanding of American civilization between the Civil War and the end of the nineteenth century. A typical expression of this misconception is the initial paragraph in Oscar Cargill's preface to *The Social Revolt*:

It is obviously unfair and possibly uncritical to regard men of letters as the custodians of public morals or the prime inculcators of idealism, yet the almost complete silence of the contemporary authors in the face of business rapacity and political corruption of the Gilded Age saddens the heart. The vulgar wickedness of Vanderbilt, Gould, Fisk, Drew, and Tweed demanded the wrath of a Jeremiah; the weak virtues of Grant and Blaine merited the scorn of a Jonathan Swift; yet the only literary indictment of the enormities in the flesh of the period lies in the feeble caricature of Mulberry Sellers. The Missouri "Colonel" struck the generation which knew these wretches and rascals as funny, and in the laughter which he evoked is truly the most painful comment on the times. The American people in the main dismissed both the rapacity and corruption as essential to "Progress" and, if practiced on a small scale, as ludicrous, while American authors by their silence concurred.<sup>1</sup>

This view of the age summarizes more or less accurately the views set forth by Vernon Parrington, Granville Hicks, and V. F.

<sup>1</sup> Oscar Cargill (ed.), *The Social Revolt: 1888-1914* (New York, 1933), p. 1.

Calverton. It has the virtue of simplicity and it has an element of truth, which make it difficult to unseat once it has been lodged in the mind. But it is an unfortunate overstatement of the facts as revealed by the literary evidence of the Gilded Age. One has only to thumb through the bound volumes of such periodicals as the *Atlantic*, *North American Review*, *Nation*, and *Harper's* to discover how active our writers were in exposing the evils of their day. The longer works, fiction and nonfiction, tell the same story. It would be to err in the opposite extreme to assert that the Gilded Age was *dominated* by a critical spirit; the important thing is that the spirit of social protest was very much alive during those bewildering days of capitalistic expansion following Appomattox and that there were many writers who were anything but silent and complacent about contemporary economic and political abuses. If there were no Jeremiahs and Jonathan Swifts, there were men and women of lesser genius who spoke forth vigorously against those social evils which they saw about them.

Little escaped their prying eyes. They were, on the whole, perhaps less scientific than their immediate successors of the twentieth century. They were more prone to deal hypothetically with their problems, yet they were inspired by similar motives, sympathies, and purposes. Their writings provide an unbroken critical tradition from the administration of Lincoln to that of Theodore Roosevelt.

As with the later muckrakers, these early writers usually explored some specific economic or political problem, such as fraudulent land speculation, illicit mining schemes, bad labor conditions, the threat of monopoly, or corruption in government. Some of them perceived a unifying principle underlying the various problems; others considered the problems as isolated phenomena. All were outspoken in their dissatisfaction with affairs of the *status quo*.

It is obviously impossible within the limited scope of this essay to give a detailed summary of the muckraking literature of the Gilded Age. I can only indicate the nature of about a score of representative novels and essays written to expose diseases afflicting the American social system. I have excluded many books highly critical of the system but which, for technical reasons, would not

comfortably be called muckraking literature; for example, the utopian novels of Edward Bellamy and William Dean Howells, and the restrained yet damnatory realistic novels of Charles Dudley Warner, Howells, Harold Frederic, and Will Payne. I confine myself to muckraking—a peculiar kind of social protest—a literature that was direct, enthusiastic, and partisan, projected not only to inform but also to reform.

As early as the 1870's appeared three novels exposing fraudulent speculation in Western lands—Eggleston's *The Mystery of Metropolisville*,<sup>2</sup> Twain and Warner's *The Gilded Age*,<sup>3</sup> and Locke's *A Paper City*.<sup>4</sup> Differing in execution, these books were alike in purpose, which, in the words of the *Nation*, was to record "the rise and downfall of one of those Western 'cities' which are built up (on paper) by the manipulations of a set of clever speculators and swindlers, aided by the sanguine credulity natural to the inhabitants of a new country rapidly filling up by emigration."<sup>5</sup> Twain and Warner doubtless defeated their purpose somewhat by creating such a humorous old rogue as antagonist, for it is hard to get incensed over Beriah Sellers's absurd swindles, whereas their satire against political corruption, personified by Senator Dillworthy, is very much more to the point. Eggleston and Locke did not make the same mistake. Their books are entirely serious, and they convey a deeper sense of the social implications of fake land-booming.

In a like vein Swift's *Robert Greathouse*<sup>6</sup> exposed various kinds of frauds currently practiced in the Nevada mines. The author's avowed purpose was to reveal how "mining properties have been, and still are, systematically mismanaged through the machinery of corporations and joint-stock companies, whereby the unsuspecting, and generally those least able to bear such losses, are often ruined."<sup>7</sup>

Oil speculators inspired by the same ruthless greed for money and power and employing shrewd tactics that might or might not have the sanction of law were attacked by Holland's *Sevenoaks*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Edward Eggleston, *The Mystery of Metropolisville* (New York, 1873).

<sup>3</sup> Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age* (New York, 1873).

<sup>4</sup> David Ross Locke, *A Paper City* (Boston, 1879).

<sup>5</sup> *Nation*, XXVIII, 106 (Feb. 6, 1879).

<sup>6</sup> John Franklin Swift, *Robert Greathouse* (New York, 1876).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface to the Second Edition (1878).

<sup>8</sup> Josiah Gilbert Holland, *Sevenoaks: A Story of Today* (New York, 1875).

and Trowbridge's *Farnell's Folly*.<sup>9</sup> Both novels describe methods used by the speculators to lure the investing public into oil promotion schemes which never got beyond the prospectus stage of development. Such frauds, Trowbridge thought, "not only rob the poor of their earnings, but of their peace of mind. They cause feverish excitement, and foster a spirit of gambling. They make you discontented with slow, safe, and honest gains."<sup>10</sup> The business morality that permits such swindles, "though it may wear the garb of respectability, is the same by which thieves and robbers quiet their consciences."<sup>11</sup>

A large part of the early muckraking literature was directed against industrial maladjustments with respect to capital-labor relations. Back in 1861 and 1862 Rebecca Harding Davis, in her "Life in the Iron Mills"<sup>12</sup> and "A Story of Today,"<sup>13</sup> was writing protestingly about the wage slaves of the iron and textile mills. Elizabeth Ward did likewise in her novel of factory life, *The Silent Partner*,<sup>14</sup> based upon reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Her book was at once a damning exposé of wretched working conditions in New England textile mills and a plea for improved conditions, which, she thought, the capitalists alone could effect.

Charles Bellamy, brother of Edward Bellamy, drew an equally grim picture of industrial life in his *The Breton Mills*,<sup>15</sup> perhaps the earliest attempt to interpret the problem in terms of class struggle. Ezekial Breton, the millowner, admitted: "I climb to heights on another's body. Everybody knows life is only a fight—the weakest goes to the wall."<sup>16</sup> Industry is a jungle where the capitalist and the worker struggle in unequal battle, the one for riches and power, the other for survival. It might be otherwise, Bellamy implied, if the capitalist would concede the worker a right to a fair share in the profits of labor.

Likewise Amanda Douglas,<sup>17</sup> Henry Francis Keenan,<sup>18</sup> Thomas

<sup>9</sup> John Townsend Trowbridge, *Farnell's Folly* (Boston, 1885).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>12</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, VII, 430-451 (April, 1861).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, serially, VIII, IX (1861-62).

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, *The Silent Partner* (Boston, 1871).

<sup>15</sup> *The Breton Mills* (New York, 1879).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>17</sup> *Hope Mills; or, Between Friend and Sweetheart* (Boston, 1880).

<sup>18</sup> *The Money-Makers. A Social Parable* (New York, 1885).

Stewart Denison,<sup>19</sup> Martin A. Foran,<sup>20</sup> George T. Dowling,<sup>21</sup> and Margaret Sherwood<sup>22</sup> exposed the injustices prevalent in factories, mills, railroads, and department stores, and pointed the way to a more equitable system of relations between employer and employed. Some of these writers advocated economic paternalism, under which the capitalist, having become awakened to his humane responsibilities, would be a benevolent father to his less fortunate employees. Other writers advocated a co-operative system of production, the favorite being profit sharing.

Voices were raised against still other phases of the business civilization of the late nineteenth century. To a considerable number of writers one of the most alarming symptoms of social disease was the apparent trend toward monopoly. The evils of monopoly were many, and the Gilded Age was vociferous in its sustained attacks on the financial juggernaut that threatened to destroy the nation. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Henry Adams, in their astonishing disclosures of the corrupt tactics of the "Erie Ring,"<sup>23</sup> predicted that American democracy would fall before the onslaught of titanic consolidations of wealth that were springing up everywhere.

The system of corporate life and corporate power, as applied to industrial development, is yet in its infancy. It tends always to development,—always to consolidation,—it is ever grasping new powers, or insidiously exercising covert influence.<sup>24</sup>

Already our great corporations are fast emancipating themselves from the State, or rather subjecting the State to their own control, while individual capitalists, who long ago abandoned the attempt to compete with them, will next seek to control them.<sup>25</sup>

Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879) and Henry Damarest Lloyd's "The Story of a Great Monopoly"<sup>26</sup> and *Wealth vs. Commonwealth* (1894) added their voices to the agitation against monopoly: "The time has come to face the fact that forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of our government. . . . Our strong men are engaged in a headlong fight for fortune,

<sup>19</sup> *An Iron Crown; a Tale of the Great Republic* (Chicago, 1885).

<sup>20</sup> *The Other Side. A Social Study Based on Fact* (Washington, D. C., 1886).

<sup>21</sup> *The Wreckers. A Social Study* (Philadelphia, 1886).

<sup>22</sup> *Henry Worthington, Idealist* (New York, 1899).

<sup>23</sup> *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays* (Boston, 1871).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVII, 317-334 (March, 1881).

power, precedence, success. Americans as they are, they ride over the people like a Juggernaut to gain their ends."<sup>27</sup>

The novelists were singing the same refrain. Rebecca Harding Davis<sup>28</sup> pointed out the blighting effect on society of a whiskey trust, her subject no doubt suggested by contemporary disclosures of the notorious Philadelphia Whiskey Ring. Henry Keenan's *The Money-Makers* likewise exposed the monopolistic practices that were destroying established democratic practices. Keenan showed that the church, the press, and the government were so effectively dominated by big business that popular government was becoming a mere formality. Perhaps the darkest picture of monopoly was drawn by Denison's *An Iron Crown*. Though the chief object of his assault was the railroad octopus (the term is Denison's), in a larger sense his novel was a denunciation of all monopolies, which, he warned, were reducing a great republic to a state of economic bondage.

When four or five sewing-machine monopolies can wring from the women of the country one hundred millions in twenty years; when four or five railway kings can steal one hundred and sixty millions in twenty years; when an oil company can pile fabulous millions on millions in ten years; when a Wall-street pirate can steal from the American people one hundred millions in twenty years by wrecking railroads, seizing telegraphs, and endangering the business interests of the country; when three or four great coal monopolies can own the fuel of the continent, and charge exorbitant prices for it; when the rich grow enormously rich, and the poor daily grow poorer; when all these things can occur, under the sanction of law, in a great republic, is it not time to stop and think? Having reflected, is it not time to act, before our slavery is complete and irremediable?<sup>29</sup>

There can be little doubt that such literature as this played an important part in fomenting popular agitation that resulted in passing the Sherman Antitrust Law of 1890, just as the later muckraking literature, continuing the attack on monopoly, helped to bring to pass the Clayton Act of 1914.

Consideration of economic evils almost inevitably led to consideration of corruption in government. The Gilded Age was fully awake to the scandalous depths of degradation to which municipal,

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 333-334.

<sup>28</sup> John Andrews (New York, 1874).

<sup>29</sup> Denison, *An Iron Crown*, p. 78.

state, and even federal government had sunk. It would be to misread the facts to say the people were acquiescent about it all. Actually the literature of protest began very early in the age and never ceased. As early as 1867 Thomas G. Sherman wrote: "The disgraceful character of the municipal government of New York is notorious. The absolute exclusion of all honest men from any practical control of affairs in the city, and the supremacy in the Common Council of pickpockets, prize-fighters, emigrant runners, pimps, and the lowest class of liquor dealers, are facts that admit of no question."<sup>30</sup> The Adams brothers' *Chapters of Erie* was as much an exposure of political corruption as of economic vice. Twain and Warner's *The Gilded Age* presents a sorry picture of the United States Senate. Henry Adams's *Democracy* (1882) does likewise. Contrary to general assumption, the writers of the Gilded Age who made a study of political corruption had a rather sound understanding of the relationship between business and politics. Rebecca Davis's *John Andross*, for example, shows the methods by which a great monopoly was able to control a typical state legislature. Similarly Keenan's *The Money-Makers* and Denison's *An Iron Crown* indicate the extent to which politics had become the handmaiden of big business. Keenan's Aaron Grimstone "could, by a word, decide the choice of the men who were to be Governor, Senator, Congressman, legislators."<sup>31</sup> Denison's Mr. Ingledde "thought no more of buying an alderman, or a congressman than he would of buying a watermelon."<sup>32</sup> Legislation and public servants, according to such books as these, had become accepted as marketable commodities. The lobby system, with its veiled and open bribery, was recognized as a shameless reality in American political life.

Perhaps the fullest and most intelligible muckraking novel on the theme of political corruption in the Gilded Age is Hamlin Garland's too little known novel, *A Member of the Third House*,<sup>33</sup> written during the author's early fervor for social equity that motivated his stories in *Main Travelled Roads*. It is the story of how an invisible government, manned by agents of a railroad monopoly and other important business interests, forced its will upon the

<sup>30</sup> "The Judiciary of New York City," *North American Review*, CV, 148 (July, 1867).

<sup>31</sup> *The Money-Makers*, p. 138.

<sup>32</sup> *An Iron Crown*, p. 304.

<sup>33</sup> Chicago, 1897. Originally published in 1892.

elected legislators in a typical state capital. Garland was pessimistic over the possibilities of permanent reform without elimination of the fundamental economic causes. Corruption was inevitable in the contemporary capitalistic regime, and would exist "so long as legislators have the power to vote public values into private pockets."<sup>84</sup> His conclusions were very much like those of Lincoln Steffens more than a decade later.

The evidence I have so briefly sketched indicates the need for reappraising the Gilded Age in terms of literary facts. There have been too many facile generalizations about the naïveté, the evasiveness, the timidity, and the complacency of the Age. It is time for our literary historians to discard these generalizations and to examine the facts, with a view to arriving at the true picture of the period. Conspicuous in the true picture would be those many courageous writers who insisted upon telling the reading public what was wrong with their social and economic system.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.



## HERMAN MELVILLE'S "I AND MY CHIMNEY"

MERTON M. SEALTS  
New Haven, Connecticut

THE FIVE years between the publication of *Moby-Dick* and his advent to the Holy Land were the most crucial in Melville's long life. . . .<sup>1</sup> So Raymond Weaver has written of the obscure period in Herman Melville's career between 1851 and 1856 which included the writing of *Pierre* (1852), a number of short stories and sketches for periodicals (1853-1856), and *The Confidence-Man* (1857). At this time Melville was living at Arrowhead, his farmhouse near Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which provided the setting for some of his less familiar prose. Such is the case with "I and My Chimney," a short sketch in a humorous vein probably written near the end of 1855,<sup>2</sup> in which "Melville makes the old chimney at Arrowhead the chief character in a sketch of his domestic life at Pittsfield. . . ."<sup>3</sup> But the story, as will be shown, is more than a mere descriptive sketch: it is Melville's subtle comment on a major spiritual crisis of his life. The clue to certain elements in *Pierre* is also afforded by an understanding of Melville's procedure in writing "I and My Chimney."

A brief account of the plot of the story should be useful in fur-

<sup>1</sup> In the Introduction to his edition of Melville's *Journal up the Straits, October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857* (New York, 1935), p. xii.

To Herman Melville's granddaughter, Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, and to the Committee on Higher Degrees in the History of American Civilization, Harvard University, I am indebted for permission to quote from manuscript material as indicated below. This material, hitherto unpublished, is now in the Melville Collection of the Harvard University Library. Mr. William Braswell of Purdue University has also allowed me to quote from his unpublished dissertation, *Herman Melville and Christianity*. For these and other favors connected with the preparation of this article, I am grateful.

<sup>2</sup> A study of the number and frequency of Melville's contributions to periodicals, including *Israel Potter* (1855, but first published serially), indicates that none of this work remained long in manuscript. "I and My Chimney" was written enough in advance of March, 1856, to appear in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* for that date, yet it was not reprinted with other pieces from *Putnam's* in Melville's *Piazza Tales* (1856). A letter of March 24, 1856, from Melville to his publishers, Dix & Edwards, accompanied his return of corrected proofs of *The Piazza Tales* (*Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904, in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection*, ed. V. H. Paltsits, New York Public Library, 1929, p. 12). Allowing the necessary time for transactions with the publishers and printing of the material, it seems likely that Melville planned *The Piazza Tales* late in 1855, and that he wrote "I and My Chimney" shortly thereafter.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), p. 308.

ther discussion. The action turns on the affection of its narrator for his beloved old chimney, which he describes in detail, and his lengthy dispute with his wife over her proposals to alter it and later to remove it entirely from the house. Over the protests of her husband, the wife employs an architect and stonemason, Scribe by name, to make a thorough examination of the chimney. Scribe startles the family by suggesting the possible existence of a secret closet within the structure, and the wife and daughters immediately conjure up visions of treasure hidden away by the late builder of the house—the narrator's mysterious kinsman, Captain Julian Dacres. But the husband, to put a stop to such foolishness and to gain a little peace for himself, eventually bribes the not unwilling Scribe to accept fifty dollars in return for a certificate attesting to the entire soundness of the chimney. Fortified with this evidence, which he hangs prominently above the fireplace, the narrator refuses to countenance the slightest alteration to the chimney, but as the story closes he is still facing minor assaults of the opposition and "standing guard over my mossy old chimney; for it is resolved between me and my chimney, that I and my chimney will never surrender."<sup>4</sup>

This rather slight plot has attracted less attention to the story than has its setting, drawn as it is from Melville's surroundings at Arrowhead. Weaver, noting this factual background, states that the farmhouse itself was built in 1780 by a Captain David Bush, but he does not call attention to Bush's transformation by Melville into the narrator's kinsman, Captain Dacres. This is but one example of Melville's free handling of details in the story, which Weaver does not discuss,<sup>5</sup> nor have Melville's other full-length biographers added appreciably to Weaver's treatment of the story. John Freeman remarks only that it is "an example of Melville writing like Hawthorne,"<sup>6</sup> and Lewis Mumford says merely that it is more an essay "in character" than a tale.<sup>7</sup> Yet Mumford himself sees "a glimpse of Melville's own drift of mind" in other prose of this

<sup>4</sup> "I and My Chimney," in *Billy Budd and Other Prose Pieces* (Vol. XIII in the Standard Edition of Melville's works, 16 vols., London, Constable and Co., 1922-24), p. 311. All succeeding references to Melville's works are to volumes of the Constable edition.

<sup>5</sup> Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic*, pp. 308 ff.

<sup>6</sup> John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (London, 1926), p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 236.

period,<sup>8</sup> and more recent investigation has found Melville's penchant for symbolism revealed even in one of his most matter-of-fact sketches.<sup>9</sup> With this in mind, the extent of Melville's departures from literal truth in "I and My Chimney" should be carefully considered.

First, as pointed out above, Melville makes the builder of the house a kinsman of the narrator, naming him "Dacres." Secondly, he places in the story a household of four persons: the husband and wife with their two daughters, Anna and Julia. Melville's own daughters were younger than these two characters: Elizabeth was born in 1853 and Frances in 1855, both before the probable time of composition of the story. In addition, the family at Arrowhead included two older sons, Melville's own sisters, and his mother. The presence of Melville's mother is significant because of a notation made by Melville's wife concerning the spouse of the story: "All this about his wife, applied to his mother—who was very vigorous and energetic about the farm, etc."<sup>10</sup> If Mrs. Melville is correct, this represents still another departure from literal truth. The nagging spouse, far from an attractive figure, is scarcely typical of Melville's own wife, whereas according to family tradition his mother was persistently critical. More than one writer toys with the idea that the domineering Mary Glendinning in *Pierre* is based on the character of Maria Gansevoort Melville, and the wife of "I and My Chimney" may be cut from the same pattern. But Mrs. Melville's notation goes still further: "The proposed removal of the chimney," she continues, "is purely mythical." Not only the characters, then, but also the motivation of the plot itself shows Melville's inventive touch—and Melville never invents without purpose. In *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, and *Pierre*, Melville's myth-making is in-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> E. H. Eby, "Herman Melville's 'Tartarus of Maids,'" *Modern Language Quarterly*, I, 95-100 (March, 1940). Eby holds that here "Melville's main intention is to represent through the medium of the story the biological burdens imposed on women because they bear the children. This is conveyed by symbolism remarkably consistent and detailed" (p. 97).

<sup>10</sup> Weaver prints this notation with the text of the story in the Constable edition, p. 287. He is inaccurate in his accompanying statement that it is taken from the *manuscript* of the story, which has apparently not survived. Mrs. Melville made her notation on a printed copy of the story which, with clippings of other periodical pieces by her husband, she collected in a binder. This volume is now in possession of her granddaughter, Mrs. Henry K. Metcalf, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who has kindly permitted me to examine it.

tentionally allegorical and symbolic. If the removal of the chimney is "purely mythical," has Melville more to communicate than the mere spinning of a yarn? And why should he write of a chimney?

In *Pierre*, published four years before, Melville had described "the gray and grand old tower" of the Church of the Apostles, "emblem to Pierre of an unshakable fortitude, which, deep-rooted in the heart of the earth, defied all the howls of the air."<sup>11</sup> The chimney in the present story is a similar emblem of fortitude, "for it is resolved between me and my chimney, that I and my chimney will never surrender." Again in *Pierre* Melville writes: "Deep, deep, and still deep and deeper must we go, if we would find out the heart of a man; descending into which is as descending a spiral stair in a shaft, without any end, and where that endlessness is only concealed by the spirality of the stair, and the blackness of the shaft."<sup>12</sup> So Melville in his writing, like the poet Lombardo in *Mardi*, "got deeper and deeper into himself."<sup>13</sup> It is with the same purpose that in the present story he traces the shaft of the chimney: "Very often I go down into my cellar, and attentively survey that vast square of masonry. I stand long, and ponder over, and wonder at it. It has a druidical look, away down in the umbrageous cellar there, whose numerous vaulted passages, and far glens of gloom, resemble the dark, damp depths of primeval woods."<sup>14</sup> As it would be vain to search for the bottom of the endless shaft described in *Pierre*, so the narrator of "I and My Chimney" digs in vain about the foundation of the chimney. The vast area of this lower part of the structure is emphasized: "... large as it appears above the roof," says Scribe, the architect, "I would not have inferred the magnitude of this foundation, sir."<sup>15</sup>

The significance of all this may be summarized briefly: the shaft is the image of "the heart of a man"; the chimney is an emblem of fortitude; what lies at its bottom is hidden in darkness. Like a pyramid in its shape, the chimney is thus discovered to have its greatest area shrouded in mystery. This consistent likening to the pyramids is important: "The architect of the chimney must have had the pyramid of Cheops before him; for after that famous structure it seems modelled. . . ."<sup>16</sup> Had the wife's projected tunnel been

<sup>11</sup> *Pierre*, p. 378.

<sup>12</sup> *Mardi*, II, 326.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>15</sup> "I and My Chimney," p. 283.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280.

thrust into the chimney, "some Belzoni or other might have succeeded in future ages in penetrating through the masonry, and actually emerging into the dining-room. . . ."<sup>17</sup> Belzoni was an Egyptologist. And again: "We seemed in the pyramids; and I, with one hand holding my lamp over head, and with the other pointing out, in the obscurity, the hoar mass of the chimney, seemed some Arab guide, showing the cobwebbed mausoleum of the great god Apis."<sup>18</sup> A commentary on this passage is afforded by an often-quoted sentence in *Pierre*: "By vast pains we mine into the pyramid; by horrible gropings we come to the central room; with joy we espy the sarcophagus; but we lift the lid—and no body is there!—appallingly vacant as vast is the soul of a man!"<sup>19</sup> What Melville is saying in the story is that in pondering over and wondering at his "chimney" he is introspectively surveying his own soul—and that introspection is an endless, empty-handed search.

Melville's identification of the chimney with himself is made certain by the amusing connotations of other passages in the story. Built around the structure were "the most rambling conceivable" rooms which (like the organs of the body), "as it were, dovetailed into each other. They were of all shapes; not one mathematically square room among them all. . . ."<sup>20</sup> Almost every room "was in itself an entry, or passageway to other rooms . . . —never was there so labyrinthine an abode. Guests will tarry with me several weeks, and every now and then, be anew astonished at some unforeseen apartment."<sup>21</sup> This jocular anatomizing depicts perfectly the enigma Herman Melville presented to his acquaintances, who were anew astonished every now and then by what he said and did.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295. Apis was "supposed to be the image of the soul of Osiris. . . . He was also regarded as the reincarnation (or the son) of Ptah—except by Greek writers . . ." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., II, 99).

<sup>19</sup> *Pierre*, p. 397. Note the significance of other references to the pyramids: in a letter to Hawthorne written in 1851 as printed by Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (2 vols., Boston, 1885), I, 405 ff.; a passage in "Bartleby the Scrivener," *Piazza Tales*, p. 64; the profound effect on Melville of the pyramids themselves, described in his *Journal up the Straits*, pp. 56-59.

<sup>20</sup> "I and My Chimney," p. 306. For still another physiological connotation, cf. pp. 286 ff.: the "mysterious closet." This passage should be read in the light of Eby's article, cited above, and with reference to the chronology of Melville's family life in 1855. Those familiar with E. L. Grant Watson's article, "Melville's *Pierre*," *New England Quarterly*, III, 195-234 (April, 1930), should also compare the description of *Pierre's* chambers (*Pierre*, pp. 413 ff.), noting reference to "the dining room" there as in the present story (p. 292).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 292 ff.

Carrying on the anatomical figure, Melville's narrator exclaims at his wife's proposal "*in toto* to abolish the chimney":

What! . . . abolish the chimney? To take out the backbone of anything, wife, is a hazardous affair. Spines out of backs, and chimneys out of houses, are not to be taken like frosted lead-pipes from the ground. Besides, . . . the chimney is the one grand permanence of this abode. If undisturbed by innovators, then in future ages, when all the house shall have crumbled from it, this chimney will still survive—a Bunker Hill monument. No, no, wife, I can't abolish my backbone.<sup>22</sup>

"Backbone," the colloquial term for fortitude, together with the reference to the enduring Bunker Hill monument (like the church tower in *Pierre*), further amplifies the connotation of the chimney. No wonder that to Scribe "this house would appear to have been built simply for the accommodation of your chimney";<sup>23</sup> that "I and my chimney could not be parted";<sup>24</sup> that "it is never out of my house, and never out of my mind";<sup>25</sup> that "I look upon this chimney less as a pile of masonry than as a personage."<sup>26</sup> All this is entirely true, for the "chimney" is the heart and soul of Herman Melville.

## II

The identification of the chimney with Melville's own personality would constitute nothing more than a piece of subtle ingenuity on the part of both author and reader were it not for the larger implication of "I and My Chimney." This centers in the "purely mythical" proposal to remove the chimney and the subsequent examination made of it by Scribe. Scribe's report of his findings reads in part as follows:

It is my solemn duty to warn you, sir, that there is architectural cause to conjecture that somewhere concealed in your chimney is a reserved space, hermetically closed, in short, a secret chamber, or rather closet. How long it has been there, it is for me impossible to say. What it contains is hid, with itself, in darkness. But probably a secret closet would not have been contrived except for some extraordinary object, whether for the concealment of treasure, or what other purpose, may be left to those better acquainted with the history of the house to guess.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294. Cf. the dedication of *Israel Potter* (dated June 17, 1854) to the Bunker Hill monument.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

The wife and daughters, on receipt of this report, immediately conclude that the mysterious kinsman who built the house must have hidden something away—another excuse for probing the chimney:

Although they had never before dreamed of such a revelation as Mr. Scribe's; yet upon the first suggestion they instinctively saw the extreme likelihood of it. In corroboration, they cited first my kinsman, and second, my chimney; alleging that the profound mystery involving the former, and the equally profound masonry involving the latter, though both acknowledged facts, were alike preposterous on any other supposition than the secret closet.<sup>28</sup>

From this point on, the secret closet becomes the central topic of argument: over its possible existence the family quarrel bitterly. The wife argues that "when you think of that old kinsman of yours, you *know* there must be a secret closet in this chimney."<sup>29</sup> The husband, unable to silence his wife by outtalking her, finally resorts to the bribing of Scribe to certify, as "a competent surveyor," that having examined the chimney he "found no reason to believe *any unsoundness; in short, any—any secret closet* in it."<sup>30</sup> This studied phrasing makes the secret closet signify unsoundness, so that the reason for probing the chimney becomes to ferret out its weakness. The likelihood of such "unsoundness," it will be recalled, was corroborated by "first my kinsman, and second, my chimney."

In the story the specific kinship of the highly mysterious Captain Dacres is never disclosed. But in *Pierre* the immediate relatives of the hero are all marked at one time or other by mental unsoundness. Isabel, whom Pierre takes for his half sister, had been kept in a madhouse;<sup>31</sup> Pierre's father had died in delirium,<sup>32</sup> and Pierre's mother also had died insane.<sup>33</sup> "Nor did this remarkable double-doom of [Pierre's] parents wholly fail to impress his mind with presentiments concerning his own fate—his own hereditary liability to madness."<sup>34</sup> And behind this fear in Pierre lay Melville's knowledge of what had befallen one of his own parents. His

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304. The ensuing dispute over the ash-hole is a strange passage, dealing with the wife, the cat, and St. Dunstan's devil. Cf. Isabel's mention of the cat in *Pierre*, "softly scratching for some hidden thing among the litter of the abandoned fire-places" (p. 163).

<sup>31</sup> *Pierre*, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308. Italics mine.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.

mother was still living when *Pierre* was written, but in 1832 his father had died under the cloud of mental derangement. His condition on his deathbed is briefly described in a letter to Lemuel Shaw, Herman Melville's future father-in-law, from Thomas Melville (Herman Melville's uncle): "I found him *very sick*—induced by a variety of causes—under great mental excitement—at times fierce, even *maniacal*.—in short, my dear sir, Hope, is no longer permitted of his recovery, in the opinion of the attending Physicians. . . ."<sup>35</sup>

The pattern of "I and My Chimney" now begins to emerge, becoming more clear as the plot of the story unfolds. Following the bribing of Scribe, the narrator cites the certificate attesting to the chimney's soundness in an effort to put an end to the argument:

Wife, . . . why speak more of that secret closet, when there before you hangs contrary testimony of a master mason, elected by yourself to decide. Besides, even if there were a secret closet, secret it should remain, and secret it shall. Yes, wife, here, for once, I must say my say. *Infinite sad mischief has resulted from the profane bursting open of secret recesses*. Though standing in the *heart* of this house, though hitherto we have all nestled about it, unsuspecting of aught hidden within, this chimney may or may not have a secret closet. *But if it have, it is my kinsman's. To break into that wall, would be to break into his breast.*<sup>36</sup>

The tone of this passage contrasts with the general light tone of the earlier part of the story, as even a casual reading will show. The sudden seriousness here, in speaking of the "profane" meddling with any secrets of the kinsman, is more in keeping with the reverent mood of *Pierre* in approaching the image of his "sacred father"<sup>37</sup> enshrined in his mind,<sup>38</sup> or in retiring to the "locked, round-windowed closet . . ., *sacred*" to his privacies, where the ambiguous chair-portrait of his father is hung.<sup>39</sup> Though the beloved image is later so tragically shattered, the memory of his father "for right cause or wrong" remains "ever *sacred and inviolate*" to *Pierre*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> From an unpublished letter dated Albany, January 15, 1832, now in the Melville Collection of the Harvard University Library, printed with permission of Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf and authorities of Harvard University. Peter Gansevoort had touched upon the matter five days earlier in a letter to Thomas Melville, now in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection of the New York Public Library (Willard Thorp, *Herman Melville: Representative Selections*, New York, 1938, p. xii and n.).

<sup>36</sup> "I and My Chimney," p. 309. Italics mine.

<sup>37</sup> *Pierre*, p. 89.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98. Italics mine.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267. Italics mine.



That such a mood was also Herman Melville's is strikingly indicated by the name given the kinsman in "I and My Chimney," "Dacres" being simply an anagram for *sacred*! This is startling confirmation that both Dacres and Pierre's father are based on memories of the unfortunate Allan Melville.

Besides explaining the first of the two reasons given for the possible unsoundness of the chimney, this analysis is important in an understanding of Melville's intentions in *Pierre*. Many of the details of Pierre's situation, from his surroundings at Saddle Meadows to the torture of his failing eyesight, are unquestionably drawn from Melville's own life. Some critics, cautioned by Melville's distinct warning that "the thoughts we here indite as Pierre's are to be very carefully discriminated from those we indite concerning him,"<sup>41</sup> object to any interpretation of *Pierre* as its author's spiritual autobiography. But from this new evidence it is obvious that a fundamental element in Pierre's situation is taken straight from his creator's experience. When Pierre "dropped his angle into the well of his childhood, to find what fish might be there,"<sup>42</sup> he brought forth dark memories of the unhappy death of his father. And Isabel, supposedly his father's illegitimate daughter, is mysteriously connected with the father's fate just as the chimney in Melville's short story is related to the mysterious kinsman. There is general agreement among recent critics that Isabel, again like the chimney, symbolizes the depths of Melville's mind.<sup>43</sup> As it was impossible to reach the bottom of the endless shaft of the soul, the ultimate foundation of the chimney, so Pierre "renounced all thought of ever having Isabel's dark lantern illuminated to him. Her light was lidded, and the lid was locked." Such is the dark mystery surrounding the girl; though, Melville continues, by interrogating relatives "on his father's side" Pierre "might possibly rake forth some few small grains of *dubious and most unsatisfying things*, which, *were he that way strongly bent*, would only serve

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>43</sup> Note the similarity in terms employed by Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville*, pp. 220 ff.; E. L. Grant Watson, "Melville's *Pierre*," *New England Quarterly*, III, 201 (April, 1930); George C. Homans, "The Dark Angel: The Tragedy of Herman Melville," *New England Quarterly*, V, 723 (Oct., 1932); William Braswell, "The Satirical Temper of Melville's *Pierre*," *American Literature*, VII, 431 n. (Jan., 1936); Willard Thorp, *Herman Melville: Representative Selections*, p. lxxx.

the more hopelessly *to cripple him in his practical resolves*. He determined *to pry not at all* into this *sacred* problem."<sup>44</sup> So in "I and My Chimney" Melville warns against the profane disturbance of secrets relating to his sacred kinsman.

I interpret this passage as the expression of Melville's own fear that, "were he that way strongly bent," he would experience the same fate as his father's by continued delving into the depths of his mind. His dilemma was something like that of Pierre over the symbolic Isabel: to acknowledge her publicly is impossible without hurting his mother; to vindicate openly her relationship to him means tarnishing his father's honorable memory. Melville's advice to his hero is to "quit Isabel" and to "beg humble pardon of thy mother," but Pierre is unable to free himself so easily from his problem. In the confusion of his soul at these "absurdities" he "would fain have disowned the very *memory* and the *mind* which produced to him such an immense *scandal upon his common sanity*."<sup>45</sup> This sounds suspiciously like the two reasons offered for the existence of the symbolic secret closet, in "I and My Chimney." At the time of *Pierre* Melville had nevertheless continued his introspection just as Pierre in the novel gave himself over to Isabel. No wonder that he later concluded in "I and My Chimney" that he had been "a little out of my mind, I now think," in trying to lay bare the very *foundation* of the structure which his kinsman had established.<sup>46</sup>

That Melville's family shared his uneasiness is suggested by Mrs. Melville's private account of this portion of her husband's career, from the writing of *Moby-Dick* "under unfavorable circumstances" in 1850 and 1851 until the period now under discussion.<sup>47</sup> "We all felt anxious about the strain on his health in spring of 1853," writes Mrs. Melville: she is confirmed by authentic tradition. At the time of the publication of *Pierre*, Melville, says William Braswell, "had worked himself into so frightful a nervous condition that his family had physicians examine him for insanity. The physicians pronounced him sane and assumed responsibility for his actions; but authoritative tradition survives that tells a pathetic story of his

<sup>44</sup> *Pierre*, p. 199. Italics mine.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239. Italics mine.

<sup>46</sup> "I and My Chimney," p. 283.

<sup>47</sup> Weaver prints a lengthy quotation from Mrs. Melville's pocket diary in his Introduction to Melville's *Journal up the Straits*, pp. xv ff.

life during this period." In a note Braswell adds: "I base this statement upon personal talks with Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf [Melville's granddaughter] and with Professor Raymond Weaver."<sup>48</sup>

Mrs. Metcalf, with whom I have also discussed the entire situation, agrees with me that "I and My Chimney" is an allegorical version of the circumstances leading to this examination. Melville's own serious mental condition was the primary cause, made doubly distressing to his family by the tragic memory of his father's death, which Melville himself had recalled in *Pierre*. Hence the relation of the chimney itself and the "kinsman" of the story to the possible unsoundness of the structure. It is conceivable that Melville's analysis of his own condition in writing *Pierre* played a part in the decision of the family to have his mind examined. According to tradition the subtler meanings of his work were a mystery even to his closest relatives,<sup>49</sup> but the pointed allusion to Pierre's father probably did not escape the notice of those familiar with the facts of Allan Melville's death—particularly Maria Gansevoort Melville and Lemuel Shaw. It is significant that Melville's mother is said to be the original of the character in "I and My Chimney" who instigates the examination, who is actively hostile to the narrator's "philosophical jabber,"<sup>50</sup> and who even after Scribe's report continues to tap the wall of the chimney after the manner of a physician examining a man for life insurance.<sup>51</sup>

The possible identification of one other character in the story is worth considering—that of Scribe, the examiner. Again referring to Mrs. Melville's journal we find that Melville's physical health remained poor for several years after the writing of *Pierre*. "In

<sup>48</sup> William Braswell, *Herman Melville and Christianity* (unpublished University of Chicago dissertation, 1934), p. 166 and n., quoted with permission of the author. A part of this dissertation (pp. 129-166, 207-211) has been printed in lithotype in a private edition distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1936. Cf. also Weaver's discussion in his Introduction to Melville's *Journal up the Straits*, pp. xii-xxiv.

<sup>49</sup> Concerning *Mardi* Mrs. Melville had written her mother: "I suppose by this time you are deep in the 'fogs' of 'Mardi'—if the mist ever does clear away. I should like to know what it reveals to *you* . . ." (from an unpublished letter dated New York, April 30, 1849, now in the Melville Collection of the Harvard University Library, printed with permission of Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf and authorities of Harvard University). Melville himself told Mrs. Hawthorne that she was "the only *woman*" who liked *Moby-Dick*, but that with her "spiritualizing nature" she could "see more things than other people" (from a letter dated New York, Jan. 8, 1852, printed in part in "An Unpublished Letter from Herman Melville to Mrs. Hawthorne in Explanation of 'Moby-Dick.'" *American Art Association—Anderson Galleries Catalogue of Sale*, No. 3911, p. 9 [New York, 1931]).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. "I and My Chimney," pp. 309 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

Feb 1855 he had his first attack of severe rheumatism [*sic*] in his back—so that he was helpless—and in the following June an attack of sciatica. Our neighbor in Pittsfield Dr. O. W. Holmes attended & prescribed for him."<sup>52</sup> The relation between Holmes and Melville was more than that of doctor and patient. Holmes's "The Last Leaf" was written about Melville's own grandfather, Major Thomas Melville, and interesting records survive of vigorous conversations between the two younger men when both were in residence at Pittsfield.<sup>53</sup> Reviewing these points, we find that the literary doctor was on familiar terms with Melville and had served him in a professional capacity twice during the very year in which "I and My Chimney" was probably written. It has been shown that as the architect found no unsoundness in the chimney, that is, in Melville's mind; so doctors had "pronounced him sane and assumed responsibility for his actions." Is it possible that Holmes had been one of the doctors, and that Melville meant to indicate the fact in the story by giving the examiner there the name of "Scribe," or *writer*? In view of Melville's general procedure in composing the story, this identification is at least not implausible.

The significance of "I and My Chimney" may now be summarized briefly. It is Melville's account of the examination of his mind made a few years before the story was written, at the instigation of his family. This meaning is conveyed in disguised form by the plot itself, with the aid of symbolism parallel to that of *Pierre* though the terms are dissimilar. The examination was made because of anxiety over Melville's nervous condition, represented by the speculation concerning the chimney, and with the knowledge of the tragic circumstances surrounding the death of his father, represented by the mystery concerning the late kinsman of the story. This fear of possible hereditary insanity was alluded to by Melville himself in *Pierre*. The characterization of "I and My Chimney" points to Melville's mother as the person responsible for the consultation of physicians, one of whom may have been Dr. Oliver Wendell

<sup>52</sup> Introduction to *Journal up the Straits*, p. xvi. Note the reference to sciatica in "I and My Chimney," pp. 287 ff.: this may be of some value in confirming the suggested date of the story.

<sup>53</sup> See a letter of Eveit A. Duyckinck to his wife dated Pittsfield, August 6, 1850, printed by Luther S. Mansfield, "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851," *American Literature*, IX, 29-31 (March, 1937); M. B. Field, *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women* (New York, 1874), p. 202.

Holmes. The examination revealed that Melville's nervous condition was not a manifestation of insanity, and the subsequent course of his life confirmed the judgment of his examiners.

Of the evidence afforded by records of Melville's career after this time, Forsythe observes that "no one who has any knowledge of Melville in his later years" needs such testimony. "For thinking people, the question ... of Melville's sanity has long since been completely settled."<sup>54</sup> With these words there can be only thorough agreement. In the present study Herman Melville himself has been allowed to explain how the question was first raised: it cannot be too strongly emphasized that any suspicions based on his own nervousness and associated with memories of his father had been entirely groundless. This is not to minimize the seriousness of his condition in 1852-1853, though in a day when a better understanding of nervous disorders prevails than in Melville's own lifetime there is no reason for describing his difficulties in sensational terms. Had modern mental therapeutic knowledge been available to Melville himself, he and his family would doubtless have been spared much of the distress they were forced to endure. More important than misguided amateur psychologizing at this late date, however, is an appreciation of the unexpected extent to which, through employment of symbols, Melville committed his deepest spiritual problems to subtle analysis in print. There is further evidence for this practice in other work of the period of "I and My Chimney," as I plan to discuss in a future publication, but for the present it is sufficient to take leave of him still "standing guard over my mossy old chimney; for it is resolved between me and my chimney, that I and my chimney will never surrender."

<sup>54</sup> Robert S. Forsythe, reviewing Weaver's edition of *Journal up the Straits*, *American Literature*, VIII, 85 (March, 1936).

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### MOTLEY'S "THE CHEVALIER DE SATANISKI"

B. T. SCHANTZ  
*Colgate University*

ANOTHER STORY by John Lothrop Motley, the historian of the Dutch Republic and the contemporary of Prescott and Parkman, has recently come to light. As no writer on Motley—not even his biographer, Holmes, who lists other minor works—has ever referred to this story, it may be regarded as a discovery. It seems almost impossible that the meticulous Autocrat should have failed to give an account of the story had he been aware of it; the obvious inference is that Motley, deeming the work inconsequential, never spoke of it, and did what he could to have people forget it or overlook it.<sup>1</sup>

"The Chevalier de Sataniski" appeared in four installments in *Graham's Magazine* in 1844 at a length of about twenty thousand words.<sup>2</sup> Motley, thirty years of age, had but recently returned from Europe after a brief period of service as secretary of the United States legation at St. Petersburg in the winter of 1841-1842. "The Chevalier" was his first work to be published after his return. He had previously published two articles on Goethe,<sup>3</sup> a translation of Tieck's *Blue Beard*,<sup>4</sup> and his first novel, *Morton's Hope* (1839). It was not until 1856 that he was to publish the work which brought him fame as a historian, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

The scene of the story is the German city of Bergenheim and the medieval castle of Goblinheim early in the nineteenth century. Motley introduces his "hero" in the midst of a rain storm on a November evening, in a manner anticipatory of the method em-

<sup>1</sup> "The Chevalier," which had somehow escaped my attention despite careful search of contemporary journals for Motley items, was recently brought to my notice through the courtesy of Professor Leo L. Rockwell.

<sup>2</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, XXVI, 113-116, 176-181, 228-231, 257-262 (Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1844). The first two installments were run as the work of "E. R. Motley, author of 'Morton's Hope,'" but the author's name stands correctly as J. L. Motley at the head of the third and fourth installments.

<sup>3</sup> "Goethe," *New York Review*, III, 397-442 (Oct., 1838); "Goethe's Works," *ibid.*, V, 1-48 (July, 1839).

<sup>4</sup> *New World*, I, 449-452, 478-483 (Dec. 19, 1840).

ployed later by Stevenson for creating atmosphere, a manner which slightly suggests the method of Poe. Motley's tone is half whimsical, heavy rather than subtle, with more than a suggestion that he is deliberately burlesquing the Gothic materials which he employs.

The Chevalier de Sataniski (the devil in disguise) is bent on obtaining the soul of the hero, Wolfgang Klotz; he already possesses the souls of the Count von Goblinheim-Goblinheim and of Madame de Blenheim. Wolfgang, ostensibly the son of the local Amtmann Klotz, has fallen in love with the lovely Lady Margaret but has been told scornfully by the Count that he may not be considered as a suitor unless he can produce a *von* as prefix to his name. The Chevalier offers the desired prefix to Klotz at the price of his soul, but his careful Christian training gives the youth the courage to resist temptation. It develops that Klotz is actually the Count Wolfgang and Lady Margaret is the Amtmann's daughter. If Klotz does sign the devil's bond, the old Count von Goblinheim, his uncle and wrongful possessor of the estates, will retain them and transmit them to Margaret.

Margaret, who discovers the truth, helps to defeat the Chevalier's scheme by means of her Bible and her prayers. At a fantastic midnight banquet scene in the ruined wing of the castle, the Chevalier fails to bribe Klotz into accepting his conditions. The complete truth is revealed; the Chevalier and the old Count blend into one person who escorts Madame de Blenheim off the scene; and Wolfgang (Prince Ulric) marries the Lady Margaret (Margaret Klotz) and takes possession of his ancestral estates.

"The Chevalier de Sataniski" fits neatly into the picture of Motley's early period of literary experimentation which one obtains upon surveying his work in the 1830's and 1840's.<sup>5</sup> The future historian was searching for the medium of literary expression to which his talents were best adapted. He had tried his hand at review articles and translations. His first novel, which Whipple described as "a compound of Byronism, Bulwerism, and Vivian Greyism,"<sup>6</sup> was so unsatisfactory that its author was ashamed of his effort and wished that he might suppress the edition. Like *Morton's Hope*, "The Chevalier" is fantastically romantic, but we

<sup>5</sup> For an account of Motley's literary apprenticeship see C. P. Higby and B. T. Schantz, *John Lothrop Motley* (New York, 1939), Introduction, pp. xi-xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> E. P. Whipple, *Recollections of Eminent Men* (Boston, 1887), p. 164.

have observed that Motley was inclined to scoff at the very romantic materials and methods which he was employing. "The Chevalier" is like *Morton's Hope* also in the occasionally clumsy manipulation of machinery and in the failure to depict character successfully. The fact that even Holmes does not mention the story justifies one in the suspicion that Motley was no better satisfied with "The Chevalier" than he was with *Morton's Hope*.

In the year following the appearance of "The Chevalier" Motley published "Peter the Great," a review article which was in effect a biographical sketch of the famous Russian. So successful was this sketch that it may well be assumed that its success, coupled with the comparative failure of his attempts at fiction, served to turn Motley definitely to the writing of history. Only once more did he turn to fiction, this time in the form of a romantic novel with historical background, *Merry-Mount*. This story seems to have been completed as early as 1846 but hesitantly withheld from publication until 1849. It was more successful than either *Morton's Hope* or "The Chevalier de Sataniski," particularly in the historical portions, but it may safely be said that this partial success only served to confirm Motley's growing feeling that history rather than fiction was his proper medium.

Motley's increased interest in the historical is further attested by the publication in 1849 of his article, "Polity of the Puritans."<sup>8</sup> By the following year he had definitely decided to write the early history of the Dutch Republic; in 1851 he went abroad to conduct research in Germany and the Low Countries; and in 1856 he published *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

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#### HOLMES QUIZZES THE PROFESSORS

HJALMAR O. LOKENSGARD

*St. Olaf College*

WHEN AN AUTHOR does not choose to print, he usually has a good reason for withholding his work from the public. Sometimes the mediocrity or the absolute inferiority of that which was suppressed explains its suppression. Frequently, at least in those intervals of

<sup>7</sup> *North American Review*, LXI, 269-319 (Oct., 1845).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, LXIX, 470-498 (Oct., 1849). He also published a review, "The Novels of Balzac," *ibid.*, LXV, 85-108 (July, 1847).



the past when decorum and tradition so decreed, a writer shrank from publishing any piece that was off-color, a bit robustious, or even vaguely vulgar.

Certainly these hitherto unpublished stanzas by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes fall into any of these categories; they are unblushing doggerel; they are mildly Rabelaisian. Most of Holmes's occasional poems to be presented in lieu of after-dinner speeches—and they are legion—have been printed. Needless to say, all of them are decorous. But the jovial doctor did share with the medical fraternity certain indiscretions in verse,<sup>1</sup> only one of which found print. More might have been printed had Holmes not prudently carried from the table the manuscripts he read at such post-prandial festivities.<sup>2</sup>

There is no way of determining whether the lines beginning "Come you Professors young and old" were ever shared with full-fledged M.D.'s or hopeful medical students. It is plausible that Holmes composed them and then promptly forgot them. At any rate, they were ultimately filed in a scrapbook, a repository which contained a few letters, mementos in the form of place-cards, menus, and programs, a phrenological reading<sup>3</sup> dated July 1, 1859, and a great number of newspaper clippings, most of them reviews of Holmes's various works, accounts of his lectures, or editorial comments on the activities—literary, medical, and social—of one of Boston's prominent men.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the eight-page leaflet preserved in the Boston Medical Library, with the annotation: "These verses were read at a medical supper party about the year 1845." Beginning with the couplet:

A verse too polished will not stick at all:  
The worst back-scratcher is a billiard ball,

the lines swingsong through material clinical, obstetrical, anatomical. Quackery, medical instruments, patent medicines, and pills are introduced; good food and better wine (the concluding couplet suggests a convivial banquet:

Shine, star of evening with thy *steadiest* ray  
To guide us homeward on our devious way)

are celebrated. Here is evidence that the Brahmin could unbend.

<sup>2</sup> See M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Holmes of the Breakfast-Table* (New York, 1939), pp. 76-79.

<sup>3</sup> See my brief article, "Dr. Holmes's 'Phrenological Character,'" *New England Quarterly*, XIII, 711-718 (Dec., 1940).

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Holmes gave the scrapbook to Harlan H. Ballard, who shared with his father, Addison Ballard, of Pittsfield, a great admiration for the Autocrat. Harlan H. Ballard, Jr., Boston attorney, who inherited the book, says in a personal letter that Justice Holmes assisted his father in gathering additional material for the scrapbook started by Dr. Holmes. This explains the early clippings (an account of the reading of "Astraea" in New Haven in 1850; a notice of the death of Oliver Wendell; a news item reporting the appointment of the Reverend Abiel Holmes as his executor, with notations in Abiel Holmes's unmistakable hand and ink; and a number of contemporaneous reviews of *Elsie Venner* and of *Counter-Currents in Medical Science*) and the personal Holmes material.

Mr. Ballard presented the *Scrapbook of Oliver Wendell Holmes Memorabilia* to the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library of Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1935.

I                Come ( you Professors ) young and old  
                   ( all you Teachers )  
 Arrange (Disperse) yourselves around  
                   And straight prepare to answer square  
                   The questions we propound!  
                   Speak out aloud before the crowd  
                   And so we all shall see  
                   If you have wit that makes you fit  
                   To ask for our degree!  
                   O Professors!  
                   Professors, don't be shy  
                   We'll put you through, so don't look blue,  
                   Unless we turn you by!

2      Call Number One.— <sup>x</sup> Professor *Bones*.      <sup>x</sup> Bell  
      Take down his age and name.  
      Now ask your question, brother Jones.  
      Professor, hear the same.  
      There, take your place, look in (<sup>our</sup><sub>my</sub>) face,

Mrs. Theresa Richardson, Librarian, and the Library Committee have graciously consented to this the first printing of Holmes's poem.

Stand up upon your legs  
 And tell (<sup>us</sup><sub>me</sub>) why its all a lie  
 That men are hatched from eggs?  
 O Professor  
 Professor, cant you tell?  
 I rather guess that you'll confess  
 The ovum is a *sell*.

- 3           What do you say? You all vote *Nay*.  
               Professor Bones may go.
- <sup>x</sup> Bell    <sup>x</sup> Professor (<sup>Sawbones</sup><sub>Bougie,</sub>) you'll proceed   trochee?[aie]
- Scalpel* To tell us what you know.  
               Explain this fact. When you extract  
               A polyp or a wen,  
               Why are you drest in all your best,  
               Among these plain young men?  
               O Professor!  
               Professor, cant you tell?  
               Why, when you take a tumor out  
               You needs must *cut a swell*!
- 4           Professor (<sup>Sawbones</sup><sub>Bougie,</sub>) stand aside.                   Scalpel
- We cannot let you in!
- 2 bells <sup>x</sup> <sup>x</sup> Professor Squills, Professor Pills,  
               With you (we will) begin,                               two we'll  
               Pray tell us why, when people lie  
               In fevers, sick abed,  
               In your prescriptions you employ  
               A language that is 'dead?  
               O Professors!  
               Professors, don't you know?  
               Because its what the dead folks talk  
               (Where all  
               Down where?) your patients go!
- 5           Vote, brothers! Lo, you all say No!  
               Rejected both the two!
- Bell     <sup>x</sup> Professor Gasbag take the stand!

And try what you can do.  
 If SH,KO,HO,N,  
 And AN,OS,E,  
 Are brought in contact, please explain  
 What will the product be?  
 O Professor!  
 Professor, cant you tell?  
 There is no doubt you'll soon find out  
 cussed There'll be a (mighty) smell!

5  
 Bell Now don't be vexed, but call the next,-  
 x Curator! won't you come?

He's always found a (stirring) round      fumbling  
    grubbing  
 In that old museúm!  
 When Typhoid fever's getting well  
 Pray tell us why you find  
 That Peyer's glands are like a boot  
 A cobbler mends behind?

O Professor!  
 How badly you must feel!  
 The healing of a patch is like  
 The patching of a heel!

7	You all say No! It is no go! We can no longer dwell And so we mean to call the Dean. Bell x Professor Fontanel! You know full well as people tell The branch that you profess: Why is the gravid matrix like To Adams his express? O Professor The reason I will state: Because they both <i>contract</i> to make <i>Delivery of freight!</i>	Professor, now hold up your head And tell us if you see Why an obstetric case is like The Presidents levee? O Professor What's all this hesitation To get through slick you only want A proper presentation. OR Professor tell us, for the good Of everyone that larns, Why an obstetric lecture is Just like a sailor's yarns
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Providence December 12<sup>th</sup> [1849]

My dear Mr Griswold

Not many weeks ago I recieved [*sic*] a note from Mrs Clemm bearing the Lowell postmark, to which she requested an early reply. On the very day in which I recieved her note I had commenced a letter to *you*, requesting you to assure her of my sympathy in her sorrow & of the unalterable affection which I still cherished for one whose memory must ever be most dear to me. After receiving her note I delayed sending my letter in the hope of soon hearing from her again— I do not yet know whether she has ever recieved my reply to her communication, & as I am ignorant of her present address, I have taken the liberty to ask you to say to her from me that I am exceedingly anxious to know whether my letter has ever been recieved by her, & that I should be much gratified to hear from her again.

I have long been wishing to explain to her the reason of my not replying to a<sup>1</sup> letter which I recieved from Mr Poe in February last dated from Boston. In that letter he informed me that he had recieved various communications, (whether anonymous or otherwise he did not state) accusing me of having countenanced the painful, & in many instances *exaggerated* reports in circulation respecting the causes of our seperation [*sic*] & the circumstances of our last sad interviews. At the same time he assured me that *he* could never for a moment believe that I had spoken, or *could* speak, unkindly of him. He said that he blamed my mother alone for the unhappy termination of our engagement— It was evident that his pride had been deeply wounded & that his feelings of resentment towards my friends were unabated. I could not wonder at this—they had suffered deeply in view of our imprudent engagement and had undoubtedly said many things which under other circumstances they would have acknowledged to be ungenerous or severe.

The tone of his letter was sad & reproachful— Yet «he»<sup>2</sup> requested me to write to him immediately & to authorise him to say that our marriage was simply “postponed” on account of my ill health.— I would not have hesitated for a moment to have complied with his request had I not have feared that by so doing we

<sup>1</sup> Written over an attempted erasure of “her.”

I am indebted to Professor A. H. Quinn for checking my manuscript with the original.

<sup>2</sup> Pointed brackets indicate a word written in above the regular line.

might both be involved in a recurrence of the unhappy scenes which had preceeded [*sic*] & attended our seperation [*sic*].— Scenes, “when our happiness suddenly faded into horror & the most beautiful became the most fearful, as Hinnon became Ge-Henna”— With a heavy heart, & after the most dispassionate reflection, I resolved, for his sake rather than my own, not to reply to this letter, but to defer all painful reminiscences & explanations to a future day.

Yet although I believed at the time & still believe that I was acting right in maintaining this silence, I was afterwards in spite of my better reason oppressed by a feeling of regret which haunted me like remorse—

Believing Mrs Osgood to be on terms of friendship with Mr Poe I wrote many times to her during the winter & spring, requesting her to inform me if possible of his health & welfare—

To these letters I recieved no reply.— If I could but believe that he *knew* of this, & that he was aware of the interest which I still felt in him, what a weight of sadness would be taken from my heart—but alas, I fear that he thought I had become indifferent to him & unmindful of his happiness— I sometimes imagine that, incensed or grieved by my silence, he had even requested Mrs Osgood not to answer my letters.

From the numerous efforts which have been made both before & since his death to prejudice me against *him* I cannot but infer that similar agencies have been employed to convince him that I had ceased to regard him with interest—<sup>3</sup>

I trust Mrs Clemm will believe the statement which I here make to you, that I have *never* spoken of him but in words of extenuation & kindness—*never* thought of him but with feelings of unutterable sympathy compassion & admiration. I am the more anxious that she should know this because I have reason to believe that others have sought to impress her with a contrary opinion— I also wish her to know that our seperation was not the result of any deliberate act of my own, far less of any change in my *feelings* towards him— I knew from the first that our engagement was a most imprudent one— I clearly foresaw all the perils & penalties to which it would expose us—but having consented to it (under circumstances which seemed to make life or death, happiness or misery alike indifferent

<sup>3</sup> Written over some other word.

to me) I resolved not to retract my promise— Nor would I have done so— The union to which I was so rashly urged, & to which I so rashly consented, was in the end prevented by circumstances over which I had no control—by a fatality which no act of mine could have averted.— And I can only account for the reproachful tone of Mr Poe's last letter by supposing (as he indeed therein suggested) “[sic] that “some person equally *his* enemy & *mine*” had sought by the most false & groundless assertions to make him believe that my friendship for him was changed into disgust & abhorrence— Perhaps Mrs Clemm can tell me from whence these reports originated—but it is a matter of little moment now, for I trust that he *now* sees my heart & knows that I have never wronged him in thought word or deed.

Will you excuse me for troubling you with these statements & will you make them known to Mrs Clemm whenever you may have a convenient opportunity of doing so. I am already much indebted to your kindness & am unwilling to trouble you with this commission but I have so few acquaintances in New York that I know no other person to whom I could have entrusted it— Will you retain this letter in *your possession* «or» *destroy* it after Mrs C shall have been made acquainted with its contents.

Can you tell me what has become of my letters to Mr Poe? I retain those which he wrote to me during our brief acquaintance & I think no person could read them without admitting that their eloquence is that of true feeling—& that whatever may have been the errors of his actual life, his heart was still capable of sincere tender & generous emotions and how can we help feeling compassion for one who through his whole life seemed struggling with a “mortal agony” unsustained & unsolaced<sup>4</sup> by an “immortal hope”—

Not long before he died I heard that he was soon to be married to a lady whom he had loved in youth— I remember to have heard him speak of this lady although I have forgotten her name I think his acquaintance with her<sup>5</sup> was renewed in the the [sic] summer of 1848 just before my first introduction to him.

Was «it» to this early attachment that he refers in the poem of Annabel Lee?—and how long had the engagement subsisted?

You will observe that I have somewhere in the course of my

<sup>4</sup> Conjectural reading.

<sup>5</sup> Written over “this.”



letter quoted a passage from *Morella*, can you tell me where this story<sup>6</sup> was first published—

In September I sent Mr Hart at his request the remainder of my "Hours of Life"—he wrote me a very polite note in reply, but thought the poem too long & too purely subjective & ideal for the pages of a Magazine— He still retains the Ms.

I am at a loss what to do with it— It would gratify me very much to see it in print if I could find a suitable medium for it— I hope the Ms will be safe with the editors of the *Union Magazine*—

It is just a year ago to-day since Mr Poe read with me the greater part of this poem and his remarks, indicative of surprise & pleasure, were the more gratifying to me because I had feared that as the poem was not conformed to his own poetical creed, either in scope or structure he would have been disposed to criticise rather than admire. He urged me at the time to fill up the unfinished portions of it & prepare it for immediate publication, assuring me that it would make a deeper & more favourable impression than I had myself dared to anticipate— Your own very gratifying remarks in relation to the first part of it have encouraged me to hope that it may yet find readers—

Before closing this long letter I have one more favour to ask of you—it is that you will say to Mr Willis that I have recently heard that he recieved a letter about two months ago from a lady who says she had never suspected Mr Poe to be either an "intemperate or a dissolute man" until she was informed of these facts by "*her friend*" Mrs Whitman. I should be sorry to think that a lady professing to be a friend of mine, & one from whom I have recieved many polite attentions, could be guilty of wilful misrepresentation in this matter— Yet I cannot rest satisfied to let such a statement pass without contradiction— Will you have the kindness to say to Mr Willis from me that *no person* has ever derived such information from me— Many of the circumstances attending my separation from Mr Poe were (greatly to my regret) matters of public notoriety at the time, but no one has ever heard me allude to them or to Mr Poe's reputed errors but in terms of extenuation & kindness. In many of his letters to me (more eloquent & beautiful, as I truly think, than any of his published writings) he expresses a depth of contrition, & an earnest yet fealful<sup>7</sup> [*sic*] desire to escape

<sup>6</sup> Written over some other word.

<sup>7</sup> Mistaken for "fearful"?

from temptation, which surprised & deeply moved me when I saw how powerless were his efforts, how unavailing his regrets. Again & again did he say to his evil genius "Anathama [*sic*] Maranatha" but again & again did it return to torture & subdue. I was much interested by your eloquent sketch of his life published in the Tribune— I cannot doubt the justice of your remarks,<sup>8</sup> although my *personal* experience would lead me to think his disposition more gentle & more gracious than you esteem it to be—

I shall look for your edition of his works with much interest—

Although I am aware that your time must be at present fully occupied with your editorial duties, I should be exceeding gratified to receive a line from you in reply to my long letter

With sincere respect

I remain Yr friend

Sarah H Whitman

If Mrs Clemm is in New York will you have the kindness to send me her address.

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#### "SCENES OF MY CHILDHOOD"

CHARLES DUFFY

*Cornell University*

IT IS POSSIBLE that Samuel Woodworth was indebted to Byron's "On a Distant View of the Village and School of Harrow on the Hill" (1806) when he wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket," which appeared first in *Melodies, Duets, Trios, Songs and Ballads* (1826).<sup>1</sup> Byron's poem begins:

Ye scenes of my childhood, whose lov'd recollection  
Embitters the present, compar'd with the past.

Woodworth's poem opens similarly:

How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood  
When fond recollection presents them to view.

Either or both of these may, in turn, be beholden to Thomas Campbell's "Lines on Leaving the River Cart" (1798), which commences,

O scenes of my childhood, and dear to my heart.

<sup>8</sup> Written over some other word.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XX, 224 (Nov., 1905).

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- The Backgrounds, Implications, and Influences of the Satire of Ambrose Bierce. H. Lynn Sheller (Southern California).  
William Cullen Bryant in New York. William C. Bryant (Columbia).  
J. D. B. DeBow, Editor and Publicist. Otis C. Skipper (Harvard, History).  
Life of Washington Gladden. David W. Lattimer (Ohio State, History).  
Hawthorne and Social Reform. Lawrence Hall (Yale).  
Hawthorne's Italian Notebooks. Norman Pearson (Yale).  
James Abraham Hillhouse. Charles Hazelrigg (Yale).  
Henry James as a Critic of America. Alfred Ferguson (Yale).  
Scandinavian Influences on the Poetry of Longfellow. Andrew Hilen (Yale).  
Mark Twain as a Conscious Literary Artist. Gladys C. Bellamy (Oklahoma).  
Melville's Reading in Philosophy. Merton M. Sealts (Yale).  
Joseph Pulitzer: St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and New York *World*. William R. Reynolds (Columbia, History).  
The Arthurian Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson. Laurence Perrine (Yale).  
Social and Philosophic Concepts in the Novels of William Gilmore Simms. Katherine Kane (Yale).  
Walt Whitman and the West. Robert Hubach (Indiana).  
Whitman and English Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Hyam Plutzik (Yale).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- The Attitude of Major Nineteenth-Century Americans toward Puritanism. Barriss Mills (Wisconsin).  
The Attitude toward Fiction in America to 1870. Osmond E. Palmer (Chicago).  
Attitudes toward Politics Shown in American Fiction from 1870 to 1900. John Lydenberg (Harvard).

- The Clergyman as Presented in American Literature, 1832-1930. Emerson Shuck (Wisconsin).
- The Dissatisfaction with the Conditions Facing the Literary Artist in the United States, from 1830 to the Civil War. George Ferris Cronkhite (Harvard).
- The Effect of the Geological Discoveries of the Nineteenth Century on American Thought. John C. Greene (Harvard, History).
- A History of California Journalism. Clifford E. Weigle (Stanford).
- A History of Middle Western Literature, 1841-1880. Farron E. Turner (Pennsylvania).
- A History of Texas Literature. Donald Day (Chicago).
- A History of Texas Printing, 1813-1845. Ike H. Moore (Texas, History).
- History of the Charleston *Mercury*. Granville T. Prior (Harvard, History).
- History of the *Connecticut Courant*. James E. Smith (Harvard, History).
- History of the *National Intelligencer*. Edward M. Read, Jr. (Harvard, History).
- A History of the Religious Press in the South Atlantic States to 1865. Henry S. Stroupe (Duke, History).
- Late Nineteenth-Century Developments in Fiction. Lowell Innes (Pittsburgh).
- Moravian Eighteenth-Century Music in Pennsylvania, with Special Reference to the *Collegium Musicum* at Lititz. Theodore M. Finney (Pittsburgh).
- Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860. Sister Marie L. Fell (Catholic University, History).
- The Quaker as Author and Subject in American Literature, 1825-1940. Thomas Kimber (Southern California).
- Social History of Charleston, S. C., 1783-1860 (with Emphasis upon the Government of the City). Clarence McK. Smith (Duke, History).
- The Typical American in German Literature from 1865 to 1900. James Teller Schoolcraft (Columbia, German).

## III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860. Albert Lowther Demaree (Columbia, History, 1940).

Criticism of French Novels in American Magazines, 1830-1860  
Albert L. Rabinovitz (Harvard, 1941).

A Study of Classical Mythology in Hawthorne's Writings  
Roger Penn Cuff (George Peabody, 1936).

Whitman's War Years. George L. Sixbey (Yale, 1941).

## IV. DISSERTATION TOPIC DROPPED:

Benjamin P. Shillaber and *The Carpet Bag*. Farron E. Turner (Pennsylvania).

## V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Professor Mitchell V. Charnley (Minnesota, Journalism) has been granted a leave of absence to work under the Alfred A. Knopf Fellowship in Biography for 1941 on a life of Thurlow Weed.

Professor Arthur H. Quinn (Pennsylvania) and Richard H. Hart (Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore) are editors of Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library, a collection of letters by Poe or concerning him, either unpublished or long out of print, being issued by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 100 West 31st Street, New York City.

Professor Henry Bosley Woolf (Louisiana) is editing Thomas Godfrey's *Juvenile Poems*, which have not seen an edition since the first in 1765.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer*.  
*University of North Carolina,*  
*Chapel Hill, N. C.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

CRUSADER IN CRINOLINE: *The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*. By Forrest Wilson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1941. 706 pp. \$3.75.

The author of *Crusader in Crinoline* says that Calvin Stowe finally became "that melancholy type, the scholar who lives for research as an end in itself." It is clear that Mr. Wilson is destined for no such sad end, for he eagerly dedicates the fruits of his research to "reading enjoyment." When a man sets out on a research problem with the avowed aim of entertainment, he may have to say good-by to readers in quest of solid instruction. Not so Mr. Wilson: he has placed in his debt not only the general reader but the scholar as well. He has left unattempted many things relating to Mrs. Stowe's works and their place in American literature, but he has pursued his special biographical task with definitive thoroughness and with literary distinction.

When Harriet Beecher was a girl, pillions and quills were standard equipment; she lived to see trolleys on the streets of Hartford. A prodigious task to report so long a life, but Mr. Wilson is equal to it and he obviously enjoys it. He seems to be animated with something of the overpowering urge for expression that characterized the Beechers themselves. Not only does he follow Harriet down the decades, but he also engages in flanking maneuvers which enable him to keep all the Beechers in sight for considerable stretches of time. One could carve out of this study rather tidy biographies of Dr. Lyman Beecher and of Catharine Beecher. But the other Beechers are presented always in relationship to Harriet.

Mr. Wilson divides his book into six parts, which he names after the places in which Mrs. Stowe lived. At Litchfield (first section) Harriet is seen as the "problem" duckling of a big brood of loquacious Beechers. At Hartford she experiments with writing, examines her soul, and helps Catharine teach school. Cincinnati engulfs eighteen years of her life (1832-50) without apparently yielding her proportionate returns. True, she got Calvin Stowe to husband, and she wrote a little. Yet, although the vision-haunted Calvin had no hallucination when he saw his wife as a potentially distinguished writer, he kept giving her hostages to fortune in such rapid succession that the verification of his prophecy had to be deferred. Dutifully, religiously, Harriet submitted to a crushing domestic regimen in Cincinnati, a vigorous but rude, smoky, and cholera-stricken pioneer town. Perhaps she was making unconscious emotional preparation, coiling herself for the vast upthrust of her talent in *Uncle Tom's*

*Cabin*. Here at any rate she saw slaves and abolitionists and riots, and once she slipped over into Kentucky and saw a plantation. Next came Brunswick—an end of exile!—and presently the miracle of Uncle Tom in the *National Era*. The fifth section is called Andover (where Calvin taught theology), but it takes Mrs. Stowe, now the “first woman of America,” on her triumphal travels—especially the almost fabulous progress through England. Last act of all, and longest, is at Hartford, where, despite crosses to be borne—the notoriety over her article on Lady Byron and the sordidness of the Beecher-Tilton affair—she lived in amiable renown for more than thirty years. The frail, morbid creature who once thought herself marked for an early grave had reached the age of eighty-five and had written perhaps the best-known fictional work of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Wilson tells all this in copious detail which leaves one amazed equally at his patience in collecting so many data and his energy in displaying the results. This book is curiously bred between the scholarly and the journalistic. No pains seem to have been spared to assemble materials, from the most important manuscript to the most negligible newspaper clipping. Many newly available letters are used for the first time. The reader is given the “breakdown” of every recorded transaction relating to Mrs. Stowe whether it be important or merely interesting. And yet Mr. Wilson has emerged from his enormous labor of assembly with his vivacity unimpaired, his eye for the picturesque as keen as ever, his phrases still flashing. Only time can tell authoritatively how accurately he has handled all the detail. Certainly there are few surface signs that he has shirked any part of his self-imposed assignment. Such an error as spelling Fanny Burney’s *Evelina* as “Evalina” may readily be accepted as one more tribute to the undying charm of Little Eva. Mr. Wilson’s method, too, is successfully sustained: he uses a chronological (instead of a topical) order, interrupting a protracted episode, if necessary, in order to keep his calendar clean. And if a reader should lose his way among details, a carefully analyzed index will quickly set him right.

*Crusader in Crinoline* is a complete life of Harriet Beecher Stowe—nothing less and little more. Inevitably light is shed on the times too, but generally no more than can be readily seen from the point of view of Mrs. Stowe’s immediate experience. Mr. Wilson’s radius of inquiry is short; he remains tethered to Mrs. Stowe. A wise procedure, one feels sure, not only because it secures the unity of a large book but because Mr. Wilson seems less at home critically and historically than he does biographically. He ventures few original critical comments, and he brokers his critical business in curious quarters. There is no direct evidence that he has read all Mrs. Stowe’s works or even all the books written about

her. He persuades the reader that he knows Mrs. Stowe but not always that he knows the American literature of which she became a part. It seems odd to treat Cincinnati as "the Athens of the West" without referring to Timothy Flint. It is hazardous to call Mrs. Stowe "our first realist" without reckoning with the author of *Archy Moore*. Nor does Mr. Wilson always evince that judicial attitude toward his evidence which sober-suited scholars will expect. If he is correct in saying that Rankin's account of Eliza Harris's escape is the only one that "stands the tests of circumstance and probability," he does not take time to show on what basis he eliminated the other stories. Serious readers will scowl when they discover that instead of detailed running documentation the author has provided only a big sheaf of general references in an appendix. Nor is Mr. Wilson's interest deeply bibliographical. Thus, for example, he says of Mrs. Stowe's famous arraignment of Dr. Joel Parker that "Harriet never deleted the offending footnote from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," but he readily admits that he has not had time to make an exhaustive study of the point. (For Mr. Wilson's information I may say that my 1853 copy of the book, with the Jewett imprint, does not carry the odious footnote.) Yet these are all matters of omission rather than of defective craftsmanship, and they serve to emphasize Mr. Wilson's admirable pursuit of a single objective: he undertook to do no more than to tell Mrs. Stowe's story. This aim he has achieved in an absorbing, brilliant, and valuable book.

Wesleyan University.

ALEXANDER COWIE.

MARK TWAIN IN ERUPTION: *Hitherto Unpublished Pages about Men and Manners*. By Mark Twain. Edited and with an Introduction by Bernard DeVoto. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Nov. 26, 1940. xxix, 402 pp. \$3.75.

To the experienced student of Mark Twain Mr. DeVoto's latest contribution is composed of materials less original than the subtitle of the book indicates. That is to say, while the contents are "Hitherto Unpublished Papers" of Mark Twain's, whoever is familiar with his published works, including the two volumes of *Autobiography* and Albert Bigelow Paine's *Biography*, will find little that is either genuinely novel or truly "eruptive" in the book. For example, the animadversions on Theodore Roosevelt as reproduced by Mr. DeVoto bring many amusing details, but add nothing essentially new to what every informed reader of Mark Twain's already knows about his dislike for Roosevelt I. The same may be said of section two of the book (entitled "The Plutocracy"), in which are brought together some of Clemens's most pithy remarks on the rob-



ber-barons whom he alternately derided and defended. Similarly, the extended passages in which Mark Twain unburdened himself on the score of the long succession of publishers who he believed had robbed him merely fill in the record as we already know it. All in all, the last three sections, comprising about half the book and devoted to Mark Twain's recollections of his own literary trials and tribulations and to a group of contemporary literary figures, form both the most entertaining and the most informative part of the book.

This is not said in censure of Mr. DeVoto's judgment or his editorial methods. The task he undertook was a difficult one. He was hedged about by restrictions imposed by Mark Twain himself, the Mark Twain Estate, and the publishers. Moreover, the materials are both vast and heterogeneous. Mark Twain himself, with the assistance of Paine's ingenuity as an editor, failed to make of the *Autobiography* much more than a compilation, the purple patches of which alone save the book, for of organization it has virtually nothing. Mr. DeVoto undertook to make a book out of what Paine and Mark Twain had, for one reason or another, rejected from the *Autobiography*. Mr. DeVoto's apologies are therefore in the nature of a gratuity.

Like the *Autobiography*, of which this is properly a supplement, its chief interest lies in the inimitable witticisms and caustic comments which Mark Twain made upon men and events. Teddy Roosevelt's prowess as a big-game hunter is ridiculed in these terms: "I am sure he honestly thinks it was a bear, but . . . it acted just as a cow would act; . . . it even left a cow track behind, which is what a cow would do . . . if it knew a President of the United States was after it." Roosevelt is further apostrophized as "the most formidable disaster that has befallen the country since the Civil War." Among the "millionaire bandits" whom he accused Roosevelt of surrounding himself with while ostensibly fighting them, Senator Clark, Jay Gould, Simon Guggenheim, and the Rockefellers are roundly damned. Henry Rogers, as much of Standard Oil as the Rockefellers, fares better—in grateful recognition of personal services rendered when Mark Twain found himself engulfed in financial troubles. Another friend, Andrew Carnegie, is only derided as "a wee forkèd child of God that Goliath's wife would have pinned a shirt waist onto a clothesline with." Through all this lurks the man who found hunting with the gang and then hunting the gang not altogether to his taste. Disgustedly he turned upon himself as the best example by which to illustrate "the damned human race . . . as a race of cowards; and I am not only marching in that procession but carrying the banner."

Very interesting are Mark Twain's judgments on his own books, especially the "little torpedo" as he called his *1601* and the posthumous

works—bombs which, as he sardonically remarked, he did not dare set off until he was safely six feet underground. His “daringly frank” tête-à-tête with Elinor Glyn forms another amusing episode. He explained to her that her novel *Three Weeks* was really a great work in which the hero and heroine “recognize that they were highly and holily created for each other and that their passion is a sacred thing, that it is their master by divine right, and that its commands must be obeyed,” whereupon “they go to obeying them once and they keep on obeying them and obeying them, to the reader’s intense delight and disapproval.” He professed to the wicked delight of shocking her in this “damndest of conversations I ever had with a beautiful stranger of her sex,” and would doubtless have been chagrined if he had lived to read the very brief note on this interview which she inserted in her autobiography. Bret Harte is set down as a “mean, base, treacherous man,” “no, not man—man is too strong a term; he was an invertebrate without a country”—altogether “the most contemptible, poor little soulless blatherskite that exists on the planet today.” Mrs. Thomas Bailey Aldrich he said he could never learn to like—“except on a raft at sea with no other provisions in sight.” Her modest husband is characterized as having “had very nearly as extensive an appreciation of himself and his gifts as had the late Edmund Clarence Stedman, who believed that the sun rose merely to admire his poetry and was so reluctant to set at the end of the day and lose sight of it, that it lingered and lingered and lost many minutes diurnally, and was never able to keep correct time during his stay in the earth.” Aldrich and Stedman, “bunched together were as vain as I am myself, which is saying all that can be said under that head without being extravagant.”

Obviously Mark Twain as an old man enjoyed talking through his hat quite as much as he did when he was young. Sometimes he declared that his sole purpose in writing the autobiography was to provide material which could be distributed among his published books as their copyrights expired, so that the copyrights might be indefinitely renewed, thus benefiting his heirs and balking the unjust copyright laws. At other times he said he designed the book to do what Rousseau had failed to do in his *Confessions*: he aimed to be the first man in all history “to tell the whole truth about himself.” Yet all but the most naïve will agree with Mr. DeVoto that Mark Twain “never came within shouting distance of self-revelation.” That being so, it is odd that Mr. DeVoto should take Mark Twain quite literally when he claimed to see the only possible end of his America to be monarchy—“what our generation calls dictatorship,” adds the editor. In view of Mark Twain’s lifelong record as a democrat (while voting a Republican ticket), ever ready to break a lance

for distressed humanity, it is hard to distinguish between sincerity and petard—true hatred of humanity and mere raillery at the “damned human race.”

*University of Wisconsin.*

HENRY A. POCHMANN.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIRST PRINTINGS OF THE WRITINGS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. Compiled by Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny. Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm. 1940. 264 pp. \$6.75.

It is to be doubted if that much-to-be-desired book, a complete and authentic bibliography of Poe, can be prepared by anyone less than an expert bibliographer who is also a well-informed student of Poe. This new bibliography, based partly on Mr. Heartman's *Poe Census*, is neither authentic nor complete. The effort is made to list all first printings of books, “together with a record of first and later printings of his [Poe's] contributions to annuals, anthologies, periodicals and newspapers issued during his lifetime; also some spurious Poeiana and fakes.” Some attempt is made to include a “census” of the ownership of rare Poe items.

The book will be convenient for ready reference to all workers in the Poe field and will be useful to anyone who in the future may attempt a Poe bibliography. It cannot be depended upon, however, either for accuracy or for opinions that indicate literary discernment. The list of errors, partly editorial and partly typographical, that average good proof-reading should have corrected is too long for printing here. Sometimes these misprints are as obvious to the general reader as “Evert” in one place and “Evart” in another, or “F. W.” for T. W. White on page 108. At other times they are very misleading. On page 194, Tucker's *George Balcombe* is misprinted *Balcomne*. On page 178, “Vols. 1 and 3” of Lowell's *The Pioneer* are listed as in the University of Texas Library, though elsewhere we are told that only three *numbers* were printed.

Many misleading statements are made in reference to Poe and the magazines for which he wrote. Often a statement is made on admittedly hearsay authority and later referred to as though definitely authentic. “It is said that Sartain paid Poe \$15 for the first version of *The Bells*” is the statement on page 199; but without cited authority the words become in later references simply, “he paid.”

Mr. David A. Randall in the *Publishers' Weekly*, November 30, 1940, has shown that the *Bibliography* is inaccurate in its bibliographical statements as to books. Mr. Heartman's printed rejoinder does not make less the debt that students of Poe bibliography owe to Mr. Randall for his article. As to articles in magazines, the claim is made for the bibliography, on page 205, that “we have listed only important articles of which

the authorship is certain." The lists are far from complete for the reviews that can with reasonable assurance be assigned to Poe, but some articles are included as Poe's that certainly are not his. For example, the review of Bryant in the January, 1835, *Southern Literary Messenger* and the verse "Impromptu—To Kate Carol," *Broadway Journal*, April 26, 1845, the non-Poe authorship of which was established by John G. Varner in *American Literature*, March, 1936 (VIII, 66-68). An example of the literary judgment of the authors is the comment on "My Soul," the hoax poem manufactured by a University of Virginia student in 1895: "The whole poem is good because it uses lines and phrases from genuine Poe poems."

The book may be welcomed as an honest effort to bring within the covers of one book much valuable information. The difficulty of the task undertaken may be pleaded as an excuse for some of its mistakes, but it is important that scholars and collectors should know that its records cannot be trusted without corroboration.

*University of Virginia.*

JAMES SOUTHALL WILSON.

ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE. Vol. XII. By George C. D. Odell.  
New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. xix, 734 pp. \$8.75.

Dr. Odell continues, in this volume, his lasting contribution to the history of the theater of New York. The twelfth volume deals with but three seasons, from 1882 to 1885, but it gives every occasion of entertainment in that time, and includes Brooklyn and other portions of what is now Greater New York. To the student of the theater, in Dr. Odell's own words, "This is the period of the advent of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, the rise to acclaim of Daly's Theatre, the beginning of the Metropolitan Opera House." These and other theatrical landmarks are recorded with that scrupulous accuracy of detail which has made these *Annals* noteworthy in American scholarship. To the student of American literature, the rise of Augustin Daly as a playwright is, of course, of more significance than his acclaim as a theater manager. He was producing his adaptations from the German, like *Our English Friend*, from von Moser's *Reif von Reiflingen*, or *Love on Crutches*, from Stobitzer's *Ihre Ideale*. Dr. Odell truly says that the characters and situations were made to appear entirely American, and that he never thought of them as anything but native to our soil. *A Night Off*, Daly's famous farce, from the von Schönthan brothers' *Der Raub der Sabinerinnen*, according to Dr. Odell, was the most delightful play ever produced at Daly's Theatre. Those writers in our drama who insist on beginning its career in 1918 should be required to read these *Annals*. Here they

will find the story of the failure of the English plays which were being put on at Wallack's Theatre and the great success of William Gillette's *Esmeralda*, of Bronson Howard's *Young Mrs. Winthrop* at the Madison Square. "This beautiful piece was in accomplishment and solid effect one of the finest things yet written for the American stage," Dr. Odell comments on *Young Mrs. Winthrop*. And he saw it—a little later. Lawrence Barrett was still playing in Howells' *Yorick's Love*, in a repertory consisting mainly of Shakespeare. Dr. Odell gives adequate space to Barrett's revival of George H. Boker's *Francesca da Rimini*, although with true metropolitan viewpoint, he implies that August 27, 1883, was the first date of this revival, which really took place in Philadelphia on September 14, 1882. But he does justice to the great play and to Barrett's production, so superior to E. L. Davenport's in 1855. I cannot quite agree with Dr. Odell, however, when he writes, "This beautiful performance Barrett kept going for nine solid weeks—a result impossible (I fear) for any noble poetic tragedy in New York a half century later." In view of the reception accorded to Maxwell Anderson's *Mary of Scotland* and *Winterset*, he is unduly pessimistic.

This was the period of Edward Harrigan's significant reproductions of Irish life in New York City. Dr. Odell rightly chooses, as the best of these, *Cordelia's Aspirations*, that delightful picture of Cordelia Mulligan's invasion of Madison Avenue and of Dan Mulligan's stoical acceptance of their failure. It is a great pity that these comedies have never been printed.

One of the features of the *Annals* for which the student of American literature should be grateful is the inclusion of readings, by well-known authors. Information concerning Mark Twain, George W. Cable, and many others is given here in detail, and I believe is furnished nowhere else. Amateur companies are not neglected, and again, those who insist in beginning the rise of the Little Theater in 1913 should read about the productions of the nonprofessional stage in those early days of the eighties. They indicate the perennial demand for the opportunity to see and to act in good plays. It is interesting, for example, to read of the performances of the late Evert J. Wendell, who left to Harvard University his remarkable collection of American plays.

It is a great record that Dr. Odell brings before us. There is something very appealing in his personal conclusion of this volume, for he tells us how in the autumn of 1885, he entered Columbia College and began his career of playgoing. Heretofore, he has had to depend on history or on his later view of the plays whose first performances he describes. From 1885, we shall have his judgments as they rise from his own memory.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

THE PRINTED WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS 1703-1758: *A Bibliography*.

By Thomas H. Johnson. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940.  
xiv, 136 pp. \$7.50.

This book lists Edwards's published writings in the chronological order of their appearance. In each case it attempts also (1) to "reproduce the title page exactly in line, punctuation, spelling, and capitalization of initial letters"; (2) to "describe the format"; (3) to "collate the item by signature and pagination"; (4) to "supply finding lists"; and (5) to "add any further bibliographical data that may be pertinent or useful." An introduction emphasizes what will most interest the general student: the evidence which a bibliography offers of Edwards's extensive European reputation, and of his great popularity in America in the nineteenth century. The separately printed writings are classified as follows: philosophical and theological sermons, 20; ordination sermons, 4; funeral sermons, 3; treatises, 14 (7 of them posthumously published); narrative essays, 2; biographies, 1; prefaces, 1; letters. More than seventy-five libraries are represented in the census of copies, and thirteen are named as "leading depositories" of Edwards items. The work is dedicated to James Thayer Gerould, who first "conceived and undertook" it.

For the specialist, Mr. Johnson's book will supersede the first part of John J. Coss's bibliography in the *C. H. A. L.* That it is an important contribution may be indicated by a count of entries for the *Life of Brainerd*, most often reprinted of Edwards's books. Coss listed, including variants, twenty-three imprints; Mr. Johnson describes forty-one, among them three additional translations. Unfortunately, however, he does not account for two of Coss's entries (Huddersfield, 1791, and a second Worcester edition of 1793); it would be helpful if errors were specifically pointed out.

The enormous amount of detail appears to be handled carefully. Of seven title-pages and collations checked by this reviewer four were perfectly represented, and the other three showed minor differences which are in all likelihood genuine variants rather than errors (No. 200J, a transposition in the motto; No. 345, no comma at end of line 3 and a different colophon; No. 346 (1856), period at end of line before "Eighth Edition"). One paragraph of the Introduction (bottom of p. x) seems somewhat garbled in the printing, perhaps by the omission of the whole or part of a sentence.

One might wish that the "further bibliographical data" had included such notes on the circumstances of publication as appear in Julius H. Tuttle's "Writings of John Cotton" (in *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*) and in Thomas J. Holmes's monumental

bibliographies of the Mathers. Such data, if they exist, are evidently regarded by Mr. Johnson as biographical rather than bibliographical. Within the limits he set himself, he seems to have exercised excellent judgment; this bibliography will be useful both to collectors and to scholars.

*The University of Texas.*

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE BOSTON MUSEUM. By Claire McGlinchec. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. 1940. 188 pp. \$2.50.

The writing of American stage history continues apace; indeed, it has reached a point where almost all the major centers and many of the minor ones have been, or are being, studied by competent investigators, whose published findings are making a large and valuable shelf of books. There are still some noticeable gaps in the shelf, however; none more conspicuous than that which will someday be filled by a thorough and scholarly account of the drama in Boston. A promising start toward this end has been made in the present volume by Miss McGlinchec, who treats in detail a limited phase of the large field. The need for such a study is apparent when one discovers that W. W. Clapp's *A Record of the Boston Stage* (1853), our sole history of the early Boston theater, devotes but three pages to this significant decade of the eighteen-forties at the Museum.

Miss McGlinchec chronicles the inception of the house as an establishment containing a collection of curiosities and *objets d'art*, and offering programs of songs and miscellaneous entertainment to which even Boston's most puritanical citizens could not take exception, and traces its rapid evolution into a fully functioning theater to which the puritanical citizens continued to come because of its aggressive respectability. But the Museum had more to recommend it than mere respectability, for during this first decade it became the most substantial theater Boston had known and one of the prominent dramatic organizations of America, a position it occupied until the end of the century.

The book is well planned to avoid the dullness that often besets stage histories. Instead of giving a wearisome year-by-year record of productions at the Museum, the author presents her material in a series of chapters dealing with such topics as: Boston in the eighteen-forties, early entertainments at the Museum, the activities of the proprietors, the stock company, visiting stars, important plays, and spectacles and afterpieces. Thus readability as well as usefulness for reference purposes is gained. One might wish that Miss McGlinchec had added as an appendix a complete list of performances and casts, that the index were more fully

itemized, and that the illustrations were clearer. But it is a welcome book, and its author should give us further installments of the history of the Boston Museum.

*New Jersey College for Women.*

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

AN EARLY NEW YORK LIBRARY OF FICTION: *With a Checklist of the Fiction in H. Caritat's Circulating Library, No. 1 City Hotel, Broadway, New York, 1804.* By George Gates Raddin, Jr. New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1940. 112 pp. \$2.25.

Circulating libraries played an important part in fostering the rapidly growing taste for fiction in the eighteenth century. The studies of C. K. Bolton and others have shown that these popular institutions enjoyed prosperity in the American colonies as early as 1763. Easily the most famous of these establishments catering to novel readers in America was the library founded in 1797 in New York by Louis Alexis Hocquet de Caritat. The various catalogues issued by this enterprising proprietor to advertise his wares offer a significant index to the light reading of New Yorkers at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Raddin has analyzed the most extensive of Caritat's catalogues, a booklet of three hundred and thirty-eight pages published in 1804. Fiction bulks large; there are about twelve hundred works in English, and about two hundred and fifty in French. Students of the popular novel will recognize hundreds of captivating titles which were the despair of moralists as well as the stock-in-trade of English circulating libraries. Caritat catered chiefly to the prevailing demand for sentimental stories after the manner of Richardson and Sterne, although there is evidence of a decline in the vogue of the epistolary form. He also provided a brave spattering of "Gothic" and "Oriental" tales. Moreover, he attempted to conciliate critics by describing many of his offerings as "moral" and "didactic."

The disheartening odds against which our native novelists were forced to struggle is to be seen in the exploitation of foreign authors. Of the twelve hundred titles on Caritat's list, only twenty-eight were the works of Americans. All the principal early American novels were listed with the notable exceptions of Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* and Tabitha Tenney's *Female Quixotism*. Among the omissions of influential English works, the most surprising is Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*.

Mr. Raddin's check list has been compiled with commendable zeal and bibliographical adroitness. The editor has been successful in assembling material which should prove helpful in the identification of titles not yet located. He has also provided an accurate census which



locates a large proportion of Caritat's titles in thirty-one American and European libraries. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr. Raddin's plan did not permit him to reprint in his check list the many "explanatory" notes with which Caritat ingeniously embellished his catalogue. These critical comments frequently reveal the devices by which fiction was made acceptable to readers who were taught to "eschew novels." Of more importance is the evidence they offer about the qualities in fiction which were prized by contemporary reviewers.

*An Early New York Library of Fiction* is indispensable for those who would understand the nature of our ancestors' light reading. Mr. Raddin's book will be turned to gladly by students who want a precise knowledge of the types of novels and romances circulated in New York. For the social historian, it reveals the moral and intellectual climate in which our early novels were written and read.

Bowdoin College.

HERBERT BROWN.

THE EPISTOLARY NOVEL IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: *A Descriptive and Bibliographical Study*. By Frank Gees Black. University of Oregon Monograph in Philology and Literature. Eugene, Oregon. 1940. iv, 184 pp. \$1.25.

Professor Black's authoritative monograph, which is based upon the rich collection of eighteenth-century fiction assembled at Harvard by the late Professor Greenough, offers an intensive survey of epistolary novels from 1781 to 1800. Although this twenty-year period produced no major work in the genre, the letter form enjoyed a wide popularity in the eighties and nineties in England and America, and reached its high point in 1788, the year before the feeble beginnings of our native fiction.

Students of eighteenth-century American novels will find this study useful as an account of the models which influenced the form and narrative methods employed by our early fiction writers. American novelists followed Richardson's English imitators in their somewhat desperate efforts to vary the epistolary pattern bequeathed by the author of *Pamela*. These expedients range from the curiously rudimentary device used by Jeremy Belknap in *The Foresters*, to the more sophisticated techniques illustrated in Susanna Rowson's *Trials of the Human Heart* and Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette*.

The failure of English novelists to adapt the letter formula to Gothic fiction is paralleled in America in the epistolary practice of Charles Brockden Brown, who presented the entire narrative of *Wieland* in a single letter. It is only in his love stories, *Clara Howard* and *Jane Talbot*, the least memorable of his completed novels, that he achieved something

like the give-and-take of familiar correspondence. Brown's exceedingly elementary use of the letter device in *Edgar Huntly* also helps to confirm Dr. Black's conclusion that epistolary fiction thrives chiefly upon sentiment. This fact goes far to explain the persistence of the type in the formative years of American fiction which was dominated by the "handkerchiefly mood."

Dr. Black's study should be heartily welcomed by students of English fiction who need a more detailed and intensive treatment of eighteenth-century letter fiction than that given in Godfrey Singer's *The Epistolary Novel* (1933). The chief significance of the book for specialists in American fiction is its discriminating account of the "light reading" which burdened the shelves of the popular lending libraries and which inspired an all too servile imitation by those who penned our early novels.

Bowdoin College.

HERBERT BROWN.

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. Edited by F. W. Bateson. Four Volumes. [Vol. I, 600-1660; Vol. II, 1660-1800; Vol. III, 1800-1900; Vol. IV, Index.] New York: The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England: At the University Press. 1941. xl, 912; xx, 1003; xxii, 1098; 287 pp. \$32.50 the set.

This long-awaited work is certain to rank as one of the monuments of British scholarship. In spite of the war and other difficulties, Mr. Bateson and his collaborators have finally brought to completion a much more useful work than the one it replaces—the bibliographies in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. These last were intended only as supplements to the various chapters and are now out of date. The new work was planned to cover the whole field. The arrangement is chronological and not alphabetical, but an Index volume enables the user quickly to find a particular author or book. The *Cambridge Bibliography* is in effect, as the editor suggests, "a short-hand history of English literature."

The scope of the work is carefully defined:

The *C. B. E. L.* sets out to record, as far as possible in chronological order, the authors, titles and editions, with relevant critical matter, of all the writings in book-form (whether in English or Latin) that can still be said to possess some literary interest, by natives of what is now the British Empire, up to the year 1900. It does not include, therefore, except occasionally and in special circumstances, (1) notes of the contents of books, (2) bibliographical descriptions of the editions, (3) short pamphlets, contributions to periodicals or miscellanies, or (after 1500) manuscripts, (4) the literature of the United States.

While American literature as such is excluded, the *C. B. E. L.* records many American editions of such authors as Byron, for example, numerous biographical and critical works by Americans, travel books describ-

ing America, and occasionally other works by Americans. In conformity with his principle of delimitation, the editor has included Thomas Paine, who was born in England, and excluded Henry James, a native of the United States who died a British subject. There is an abundance of material for the study of England's literary relations with the Continent but no such material for Anglo-American literary relations. The inclusion of American literature (that of the British dominions is included) would have made the *C. B. E. L.* of greater usefulness to American scholars, but would of course have made the book much larger and would have delayed its appearance. It is, moreover, hardly fair for Americans to expect British scholars to prepare a bibliography when American scholars have neglected to undertake it. As it stands, the *Cambridge Bibliography* will be of great service to all those interested in Anglo-American literary relations.

The editor has been wise to make use of a number of competent American scholars as contributors such as R. S. Crane, of the University of Chicago, and John W. Spargo, of Northwestern University. A few years ago American scholars had frequent occasion to complain that British scholars did not know American scholarship in the field of English literature. The present reviewer finds no cause for complaint on that score. The work of scholars outside the British Empire—particularly German and American scholars—is well represented in every volume.

The biographical and critical materials are necessarily selective. Completeness, even were it always desirable, was not practicable within the limits set for such a work. Volume III stops with 1938 and Volume II with 1937, and the earlier portion of Volume I contains nothing after 1935. The casual reader who notes that the bibliography gives only 912 pages to the long period from 600 to 1660 while it assigns 2,111 pages to the much shorter period 1660-1900 is likely to imagine that the work is more nearly complete for the later periods. This is hardly the case, and Anglo-Saxon and Middle English scholars are more nearly certain to find relatively unimportant items listed. In the later periods the number of minor writers who had to be included is very large—so large that in many cases the editor has not been able to include all available materials.

The *C. B. E. L.* is a scholar's bibliography, compiled by scholars who understand the uses which other scholars will make of it. There is much relevant material for the social historian and for the scholar interested in religious and educational history; even the literature of sports is represented. There are bibliographies of the works of English and classical scholars, like Jowett, Furnivall, and Skeat. There is an abundance of material on literature in translation, including a section on the literary theory of translation. Often one finds material one would hardly expect,

useful though he immediately sees it to be, like the section entitled "Byron in Poetry and Fiction (to 1837)."

How free from errors the bibliography is can be told only after many scholars have used the book a long time. The present reviewer finds fewer errors than he has noted in any other work of the same kind, perhaps because of "the editor's stubborn insistence on checking and revising the great majority of the sections himself." The few errors I have noted are limited largely to the spelling of names of Americans.

The appearance of *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* suggests a query, even a challenge: When will American scholars give us a companion volume for the literature of the United States? We are not, it appears, ready to undertake the much-discussed co-operative literary history of America. Shall we ever be ready unless we can produce first a bibliography comparable to that which Mr. Bateson and his collaborators have given us?

*Duke University.*

JAY B. HUBBELL.

## BRIEF MENTION

WILLIAM BYRD'S NATURAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA: *Or The Newly Discovered Eden*. Edited and Translated from a German Version. By Richmond Croom Beatty and William J. Mulloy. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press. 1940, xxx, 94, 109 pp. \$4.00.

The Library of Congress possesses what is perhaps a unique copy of *Neu-gefundenes Eden*, a book printed at Bern, Switzerland, in 1737, by a Swiss colonizing society which proposed to settle a number of Switzers on land in southern Virginia which it had bought from William Byrd. The book was listed in 1917 in the bibliography of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (I, 368), but it remained for Professor Beatty to examine it and to recognize its importance. Much of the book is taken up with accounts of travels in the American colonies by Samuel Jenner and others, but a hundred of the 226 pages of the book are occupied by "eine kurtze Beschreibung von Virginia," which Jenner claims to have received from Byrd himself and to have "translated as well as I was able from English into German." The literary qualities of what Byrd wrote rarely appear in what the editors rightly describe as Jenner's "somewhat dryly factual and ungraceful prose style." Occasionally, however, one meets with a sentence which sounds like the Byrd we know, such as: "Wer bald verlangt zu sterben gehe nur nach Carolina." What Jenner gives is not always even a literal translation, for he interrupts to speak in his own person. The material, however, reveals Byrd as a much more respectable student of natural history than do most of his letters to the Royal Society, concerned as they are with the praises of ginseng or some remedy for snakebite. There are, however, a few passages which seem more like legend than fact. Of the green live oak Byrd writes: "The Indians press or boil an oil from it which is as sweet as that from olives, but somewhat brown in color. They make also from the acorns a chocolate which is as good as that from cocoa, in the manner of which they prepare it. I have myself tasted it and found no difference at all" (p. 25). Some of the more interesting passages of "eine kurtze Beschreibung" deal with the social life of Virginia. Byrd of course is a booster of his native colony. One suspects that when Byrd gave Jenner his account of Virginia natural history—perhaps written long before—he added his rosy account of the Old Dominion to attract the Swiss settlers. The Helvetian Society bought from Byrd for six thousand pounds 33,400 acres on the Roanoke River. The conclusion of the venture is tragic. Of 250 Swiss who sailed for Virginia in 1738 nearly all were drowned when their ship was wrecked

on the American coast. The editors give both German and English versions of Byrd's contribution to *Neu-gefundenes Eden*. They have not annotated the text, but Professor Beatty has supplied a readable and informative Introduction. Jenner's account of Byrd as he saw him at Westover and in the Land of Eden ought to have been included somewhere in the book. Some historian might find it worth while to study the travel-journals of Jenner and others, who visited the colonies from Pennsylvania to South Carolina.

TAMERLANE AND OTHER POEMS. By Edgar Allan Poe. Reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1827 with an Introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott. New York: Published for The Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press. 1941. lxvi, 40 pp. \$1.80.

Although Poe's *Tamerlane* has been reprinted five times before, this is not only the first inexpensive edition but by far the most important, for it contains an Introduction in which Professor Mabbott tells us what is known or may reasonably be inferred concerning Poe's life in 1827, the printer, the publication, the sale, and the bibliographical history of Poe's first book. He includes three uncollected poems which may be Poe's, and he reprints for the first time material from an article about Poe—and inspired, if not written, by him—which appeared in the Philadelphia *Saturday Museum* in 1843.

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1783. By Moses Coit Tyler. With an Introduction by Randolph Greenfield Adams. Two Volumes. New York: Published for Facsimile Library, Inc. [by] Barnes & Noble, Inc. [1941.] xxxviii, 521; xxii, 527 pp. \$12.50 boxed.

This work, long out of print and difficult to obtain, has not yet been superseded by any later literary history of the period. Later treatments of some of the authors whom Tyler studied are available, but for most Revolutionary writers this is still the standard work. Tyler spent twenty years on this book, and he included no writer whose work he had not carefully examined. His chief omissions are in literary materials which appeared only in newspapers—now available in photostat form in the larger libraries—or in materials not known in his time. Tyler's conception of literary history has fared better with the passing of time than is the case with his contemporaries. Occasionally one finds a passage which reminds us that Tyler's ambition was to be a preacher, but in general he confines himself to the task of description and interpretation. Well founded is his claim to having for the first time "set forth the inward

history of our Revolution—the history of its ideas, its spiritual moods, its motives, its passions. . . .” There is still timeliness in his comments on the Anglo-American feud, the origin of which he traces, and in his expressed wish that his book might promote “a better understanding . . . a deeper respect . . . a kindlier mood, on both sides of the ocean, among the descendants of those determined men who so bitterly differed in opinion, so fiercely fought, and, in their anger, so widely parted company, a century and a quarter ago.” Mr. Adams’s Introduction appropriately was written in Ann Arbor, where Tyler taught for many years.

LETTERS OF JONATHAN OLDSTYLE. By Washington Irving. Reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1824 with an Introduction by Stanley T. Williams. New York: Published for The Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press. 1941. xxiv, 68 pp. \$1.60.

The nine letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent. first appeared in the New York *Morning Chronicle* in 1802-1803, and were written when Irving was only nineteen. The pirated edition of 1824—the only earlier appearance of the letters in book form—omitted the first letter in the series, which is here reprinted from the *Morning Chronicle*. In an appropriate Introduction Professor Williams tells the story of the letters and points out their significance. Three of them satirize dress, marriage customs, and dueling. The six most notable letters “attack with gay exaggeration the deficiencies of our struggling drama: the grandiose plays, the ranting actors, the vulgar audiences, the unconvincing and inaudible music, and the half-wit critics, ‘the very pests of society.’” While the writing as a whole lacks distinction, occasional passages seem to foreshadow the future author of *The Sketch Book*.

AN UNPUBLISHED WHITMAN MANUSCRIPT: *The Record Book of the Smithtown Debating Society, 1837-1838*. By Katherine Molinoff. [Introduction by Oscar Cargill. 1941. Published by the author. For sale by Alfred Goldsmith, 42 Lexington Ave., New York.] 16 pp. \$.75.

SOME NOTES ON WHITMAN’S FAMILY: *Mary Elizabeth Whitman, Edward Whitman, Andrew and Jesse Whitman, Hannah Louisa Whitman*. By Katherine Molinoff. [Introduction by Oscar Cargill. 1941. Published by the author. For sale by Alfred Goldsmith, 42 Lexington Ave., New York.] 43 pp. \$.75.

Mrs. Molinoff’s two pamphlets contain material of some importance for the student of Whitman. The Huntting manuscript of the Smithtown Debating Society does not reveal Whitman as a particularly efficient secretary, but the minutes he kept do indicate that he was interested

in the questions discussed and spoke at eleven of the seventeen meetings recorded. His choice of sides is characteristic. He opposed slavery, he contended that a republican government was superior to all others, and he advocated the abolition of capital punishment and of imprisonment for debt.

By interviews with persons who knew Whitman's relatives and by following down various clues, Mrs. Molinoff has brought together considerable material on the poet's brothers and sisters. Here are his "dear sister Mary," married to a Long Island shipbuilder and happiest of the lot; Hannah, his favorite sister and unhappily married to the painter Charles L. Heyde, whom the poet referred to as a "skunk," a "viper," and "the bed-buggiest man" he had ever met; Edward, an imbecile; Jesse, who died in an insane asylum; and Andrew, of whom almost nothing is known. Mrs. Molinoff indulges in no speculations, but Professor Cargill after reading her manuscript found himself "wondering if Whitman's paralysis was as much the product of his exertions as a war nurse (to which it is frequently attributed) as to an inherited constitutional weakness, shared by other members of his family." Mrs. Molinoff prints a new Whitman letter and a very interesting newspaper account of Whitman's appearance at the Dartmouth College Commencement in 1872, which would seem to have been written by the poet himself. The poet is described as "Athletic enough, now becoming aged, yet still smacking of the open air, with sunburnt features, open neck and shaggy beard." Another passage reads:

Whitman, however, sees the grandeur of America in the future, not in the past. He says the true New World is to be less the political and material America, important as those are, but far more the advancing, scientific, poetic and even religious America. He constructed in his poem of today here, a vast composite, tremendous democracy, and showed the United States in it as the coming ideal nationality of the future; producing superior men and women, and as the leading nation of peace, but not incapable of being, should occasion arise, the leading nation of war (p. 29).

THE HERO IN AMERICA: *A Chronicle of Hero-Worship*. By Dixon Wecter. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. xii, 530 pp. \$3.50.

A century ago a dyspeptic Scotchman published a volume on heroes and hero-worship, in which he praised the leadership of the Great Man in a fashion that now seems somewhat fascist. Mr. Wecter's aim is less ambitious than Carlyle's. While he contends that democracy has its worthy heroes, his primary purpose is "to look at a few of those great personalities in public life—Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Lee, Theodore Roosevelt—from whom we have hewn our symbols of government, our ideas of what is most prizable as 'American.'" Other chapters deal with somewhat less notable figures: "Captain



John Smith and the Indians," "The Pilgrim Fathers and the American Way," "Winning of the Frontier: Boone, Crockett, and Johnny Appleseed," "The Dime Novel and Buffalo Bill," "Gods from the Machine: Edison, Ford, Lindbergh." Mr. Wecter is bold enough to include a chapter on the "Champion of the New Deal," which will not wholly please either the supporters or the opponents of President Roosevelt. In his concluding chapter, "How Americans Choose Their Heroes," Mr. Wecter notes that no American woman has yet quite won a place in the American pantheon; that artists, authors, scholars, saints, and physicians are also unrepresented while politicians, soldiers, and lawyers are abundantly represented. "Bravery, honesty, strength of character are the stuff for hero-worship. At the boy's level, this worship gravitates toward the doer of spectacular deeds; on the average adult level, toward a wielder of power; in the eyes of a more critical judgment, toward idealism and moral qualities" (p. 486). The American hero must be "decent, honorable, with a sense of fair play"; vanity or arrogance are taboo; and a reputation for "genius" is quite unnecessary. In general, the American's choice of his heroes seems sound to Mr. Wecter: ". . . our major favorites are those any nation might be proud of" (p. 485). Most of us would agree with him here, but many would take issue with him on some of the lesser figures. For the student of American literature the most interesting passages are those in which Mr. Wecter discusses the part played in poetry, fiction, drama, and romantic biography by Washington, Lincoln, and Captain John Smith. In its way *The Hero in America* is as notable a book as Mr. Wecter's earlier *The Saga of American Society*. Both should be on all reading lists in courses in the American novel.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND URBANIZATION: *Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt*. Edited by Eric F. Goldman. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. x, 220 pp. \$2.50.

The nine essays in this volume were written by former students of Professor Holt, now Chairman of the History Department at the University of Washington, who from 1930 to 1940 directed graduate work at Johns Hopkins. The essays all fall within fields of his special interest, particularly historiography. Among these are William Diamond's "On the Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History," Donald E. Emerson's "Hildreth, Draper, and 'Scientific History,'" Alfred Goldberg's "School Histories of the Middle Period," and Charles Hirschfeld's "Edward Eggleston: Pioneer in Social History." The last of these is an admirable essay, based largely upon unpublished manuscript materials, which throws light upon Eggleston's novels as well as his historical work.

Two of the essays deal with Southern history: St. Julien Ravenel Childs's "Cavaliers and Burghers in the Carolina Law Country" and Bernard Mayo's "Lexington: Frontier Metropolis."

ENGLISH INSTITUTE ANNUAL, 1940. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. xiv, 228 pp. \$2.00.

The ten papers printed in this volume were selected from twenty-five which were presented at the meeting of the English Institute in New York last September. A number of them deal suggestively with the problem of literary history: Norman Holmes Pearson's "Literary Forms and Types," René Wellek's "Periods and Movements in Literary History," Willard Thorp's "The Problem of Greatness in Writing Literary History," Harry Hayden Clark's "Intellectual History in Its Relation to a Balanced Study of American Literature," and William York Tindall's "Scholarship and Contemporary Literature." The last of these, though it deals primarily with English literature, interested the reviewer more than any other essay in the book. Other essays included are W. H. Auden's "Mimesis and Allegory," Cleanth Brooks's "The Poem as Organism," Ralph Thompson's "The Popular Review and the Scholarly Book," Randolph G. Adams's "Who Uses a Library of Rare Books?" and Walter L. Pforzheimer's "Copyright and Scholarship."

THE ATHENAEUM: *A Mirror of Victorian Culture*. By Leslie A. Marchand. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1941. xvi, 411 pp. \$3.50.

This study is one of a number of significant recent studies of Victorian magazines. The *Athenaeum*, founded in 1828, was at its best under Charles W. Dilke in the 1830's. It conducted a campaign against puffery, and its reviews were more nearly honest than those of other periodicals of the time. Mr. Marchand was fortunate to obtain the use of a marked file which identifies most of the contributors.

THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES, Volume XIX, 1938. Edited for The English Association by Frederick S. Boas. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1940. 275 pp. \$3.75.

In spite of changes in the personnel of the contributors made necessary by the war and other factors, the present volume is up to the high standard set by earlier volumes. It contains notices of 232 books and 628 articles. Much more attention is paid to American literature than was true of some of the early volumes. The series constitutes a useful supplement to *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, which in-

cludes materials published in 1938 only for nineteenth-century English literature.

THE BANKER'S DAUGHTER & OTHER PLAYS. By Bronson Howard. Edited by Allan G. Halline. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1941. xiv, 306 pp. \$5.00; \$85.00 for the set.

AN ARRANT KNAVE & OTHER PLAYS. By Steele MacKaye. Edited, with Introduction, by His Son Percy MacKaye. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1941. xx, 234 pp. \$5.00; \$85.00 for the set.

These are Volumes X and XI of "America's Lost Plays." Five of Bronson Howard's plays are given: *Hurricanes*, *Old Love Letters*, *The Banker's Daughter*, *Baron Rudolph*, *Knave and Queen*, and *One of Our Girls*. Mr. Percy MacKaye includes four of his father's plays: *Rose Michel*, *Won at Last*, *In Spite of All*, and *An Arrant Knave*. The editorial policy here, as in earlier volumes of the series, has been to provide the necessary factual material for each play and to minimize critical interpretation.

SIXTEEN FAMOUS AMERICAN PLAYS. Edited by Bennett Cerf and Van H. Cartmell. With an Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc. [1941.] 1049 pp.

"The sixteen plays in this collection have many things in common. All of them are products of the past two fruitful decades in the American theatre. All of them are by native playwrights and are concerned with native themes. All of them were outstanding commercial successes, and most of them will continue to be played by professional and amateur groups for many years to come. Three of them are Pulitzer Prize winners" (Foreword). Mr. Brooks Atkinson, who has reviewed fifteen of the sixteen plays, contributes an exceptionally fine Introduction. The plays included are: *They Knew What They Wanted*, *The Front Page*, *The Green Pastures*, *Biography*, *Ah, Wilderness*, *The Petrified Forest*, *Waiting for Lefty*, *Dead End*, *Boy Meets Girl*, *The Women*, "Having Wonderful Time," *Our Town*, *The Little Foxes*, *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, *The Time of Your Life*, and *Life with Father*.

A TIME TO SPEAK: *The Selected Prose of Archibald MacLeish*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1941. 210 pp. \$2.75.

Although Mr. MacLeish is primarily a poet, his prose writings have perhaps found a wider response than his poems; and they, too, are often literature in the narrower sense of the word. The twenty-six prose pieces

here collected include "Of the Librarian's Profession" and "Libraries in the Contemporary Crisis"; a few of his *Fortune* articles, some of them on Latin-American subjects; essays on political topics; and, best of all, discussions of poetry. The volume opens with the superb "In Challenge, Not Defense," most notable of twentieth-century defenses of poetry.

LAFKADIO HEARN'S LECTURES ON TENNYSON. Compiled by Shigetsugu Kishi. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press. [1941.] 181 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Kishi, "Hearn's last student in the Imperial University of Tokyo," attended Hearn's lectures to first-year students and liked them so much that he attended them a second year. Thirty-nine years afterward he looked over the notes he had taken and revised them for publication. In many cases the notes are concerned chiefly with passages offering linguistic difficulties to the Japanese student. In some instances, however, notably in the discussions of "Crossing the Bar" and "Vastness," valuable critical comments are recorded.

THE WISDOM OF THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Including the Jefferson Bible, "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth."* Selected and Edited by Edward Boykin. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1941. xvi, 301 pp. \$2.50.

An excellent collection of passages, chiefly from Jefferson's letters, arranged under headings devised by the editor. There is a brief Foreword, a Jefferson chronological table, and an Index of Sources from which the various passages are drawn. In selection and editorial headings there is a proper emphasis upon the timeliness of Jefferson's utterances, but is not Mr. Boykin going rather far when he says that Jefferson "fore-saw many of America's present problems, and even prescribed their antidotes" (p. vii)?

POETS OF OUR TIME. By Rica Brenner. Illustrated with Photographs. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1941.] xii, 411 pp. \$2.50.

This excellent study, by the author of *Ten Modern Poets*, "sketching biographical backgrounds and suggesting points of view," is intended primarily for young people. The nine poets included are Stephen Vincent Benét, Archibald MacLeish, Vachel Lindsay, T. S. Eliot, Sara Teasdale, W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Elinor Wylie, and William Butler Yeats. For some of these poets, the reviewer knows of no biographical sketches so good as these.

HOME BY THE RIVER. By Archibald Rutledge. Illustrated with Photographs by Noble Bretzman. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. [1941.] 196 pp. \$3.00.

In this volume, which is in part autobiography and in part nature book, Mr. Rutledge tells the story of Hampton Plantation, which has been in Rutledge hands since 1686. In 1937 Mr. Rutledge retired from teaching in the Mercersburg Academy, returned to Hampton, and promptly began to restore the house, built in 1730 but for years allowed to fall into neglect and decay. The intrinsically interesting story loses nothing in Mr. Rutledge's telling. Here lived Edward Rutledge, the Signer, and John Rutledge, Revolutionary Governor of South Carolina; and here visited George Washington in 1791. The plantation Negroes and the natural life of the region are vividly described.

A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO AMERICAN BOOK COLLECTING (1663-1940): *With All Items Arranged in Sequence as a Chronological Panorama of American Authorship and with Each Subject Considered from Bibliographical, Biographical and Analytical Aspects.* By Whitman Bennett. New York: The Bennett Book Studios, Inc. [1941.] 254 pp. \$7.50 cloth; \$14.00 hand-bound blue Morocco.

This is an exceptionally interesting and useful collector's manual, which instead of being limited to fiction or Americana, attempts to cover the field from John Eliot's Indian Bible to Saroyan's *My Name Is Aram*. The thousand or more titles are well selected and carefully described as to bibliographical details. The chronological arrangement has much to recommend it, and an author index enables the user to find any book he wishes to look up. Mr. Bennett, however, is not so careful in his brief accounts of the authors represented. The names of a number of authors and books are misspelled. The second *the* is twice omitted in *The House of the Seven Gables* (p. 108), and the name of the Western poet is Cincinatus Hiner [not Heine] Miller. There are some errors of fact to be noted. Mason Locke Weems is not accurately described as "rector of the Episcopal Church in Mt. Vernon Parish which Washington attended" (p. 41), and Lanier's connection with Johns Hopkins University was hardly that of "Prof. of English" (p. 147). John Esten Cooke was not born in Williamsburg (p. 113), though he described that town in at least two of his novels. There are many who will question Mr. Bennett's statements that Amy Lowell's *John Keats* "is the most important biography of an English poet by any American writer" (p. 226) and that Hervey Allen's *Israfel* "is definitely the best life of an American author by an American" (p. 227). After reading this last estimate, one is sur-

prised to find Mr. Bennett stating that Poe was in his own time "literally appreciated by nobody" (p. 94) except his wife and her mother.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SEPARATE WRITINGS OF JOHN ESTEN COOKE OF VIRGINIA, 1830-1886. By Oscar Wegelin. Second Edition, Revised. Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm. 1941. 13 pp.

This is No. 44 in Heartman's Historical Series. The edition is limited to 99 copies.

J. B. H.

JOURNAL OF ANNA MAY. Edited by George W. Robinson. Cambridge, Mass.: Privately Printed. 1941. 100 pp. \$3.00.

A charming diary for the year 1856-1857 of a senior student in the New Hampton Institution (New Hampshire), which throws much light on the English and Classical courses of "Female Collegiate Institutes" of the day. (Orders should be addressed to Mr. Robinson at 720 Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.)

C. G.

AMERICA'S FIRST BIBLES: *With a Census of 555 Extant Bibles*. By Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petre. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1940. ix, 184 pp.

Collectors, historians, and students of printing will find Mr. Rumball-Petre's useful census of rare American Bibles a little more pleasant reading than most books of this type. It is a companion volume to P. Marion Simms's *The Bible in America*.

D. K. J.

INDEX TO EARLY AMERICAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1728-1870. *Part 2. Edgar Allan Poe*. Sponsored by New York City, Board of Education; New York University, English Department; and New York University Libraries. New York: Pamphlet Distributing Co. 1941. 19 pp. \$1.00.

Fact and fancy are so intermixed in what has been written about Poe that eventually it will be necessary—if we are ever to have a true likeness of Poe—for a Dupin to rescue him from legend, legends created not only purposefully by Poe, his friends, and his enemies in his own lifetime, but also unwittingly by well-meaning students after his death. To add to the present and past confusion, Poe has fallen into the hands of bookdealers, collectors, and now the W.P.A.

In the hands of the W.P.A. Poe has fared none too well. Unfortunately, this index is more mystification than clarification. One is not inclined to find fault with the section entitled "Biography and Criticism of Poe" although omissions are evident. In the other sections of the pamphlet, not including Professor Mabbott's valuable addendum, the errors are not so much errors of omission as errors of commission. Many items are doubtfully ascribed to Poe which, so far as I am aware, have never before been doubtfully considered his, and which on a little inspection would not have been credited to him. Space in a brief review permits mention of only a few works which are certainly not his: "Ad fortunam," "Adrianus ad animalum," "Answer," "Apostrophe of the Aeolian Harp," "Beauty without Loveliness," "The Belles of Williamsburg," and the review of George Bancroft's *History of the United States*. "The Fire Legend," which I once carelessly attributed to Poe as doubtful, is the work of Charles D. Gardette. To the present reviewer, the authorship of "Some Ancient Greek Authors" is no longer doubtful.

He who would use this index must be circumspect, overlook the many (sometimes absurd) typographical errors, and be aware that the W.P.A. has been more generous than accurate in its additions to the Poe canon.

*Duke University.*

DAVID K. JACKSON.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check list to be published in the November, 1941, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Johnston, Rebecca. "William Byrd Title Book." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLVIII, 31-56, 107-129, 222-237, 328-340 (Jan., Apr., July, Oct., 1940); XLIX, 37-50 (Jan., 1941). To be continued.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Baldwin, Ada Harriet. "His Mother's Kindred." *Americana*, XXXV, 7-32 (Jan., 1941).

The first part of a serial article on Franklin's mother's family.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Leary, Lewis. "The Time-Piece: Philip Freneau's Last Venture in Newspaper Editing." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, II, 65-74 (Feb., 1941).

As the editor of *The Time-Piece; and Literary Companion*, published in New York from March 13, 1797, to August 8, 1798, Freneau offered his readers a miscellany of extracts from English writers, accepted with misgivings sentimental effusions from the lady poets, contributed doggerel and humorous poems, and waged a war for "genuine Republicanism" against the Federalists in their attacks on France.

[LEE, RICHARD, II] Ellis, Milton. "Richard Lee II, Elizabethan Humanist or Middle-Class Planter?" *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XXI, 29-32 (Jan., 1941).

Contents that Richard Lee II probably inherited most of his library from his father and that Mr. Louis Wright consequently erred in



portraying Lee as a humanist. (For Mr. Wright's article, see *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, II, 1-35.)

- [TAYLOR, EDWARD] Johnson, Thomas H. "A Seventeenth-Century Printing of Some Verses of Edward Taylor." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 139-141 (March, 1941).

A comparison of two stanzas of Taylor's "Upon Wedlock and Death of Children," printed in 1689, with the *Poetical Works* version of them, indicates that the poet exercised "real poetic craftsmanship in giving them final form."

## II. 1800-1870

- [COOPER, J. F.] Bolander, Louis H. "The Naval Career of James Fenimore Cooper." *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXVI, 541-550 (Apr., 1940).

Basing his study on naval records, the librarian of the Naval Academy states new facts about Cooper's service on the *Vesuvius* under Commodore Rodgers, about his service under Lieutenant Woosley at Fort Oswego and on Lake Ontario, about his recruiting seamen for the *Wasp*, and offers evidence that Cooper "never served on Lake Champlain," as Lounsbury stated. He gives much credit to Cooper as a naval historian and active friend of naval officers.

- Nelson, Andrew. "James Cooper and George Croghan." *Phil. Quar.*, XX, 69-73 (Jan., 1941).

The use of actual incidents and personages of Cooperstown in the writing of *The Pioneers*.

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Cestre, Charles. "Emerson Poète." *Études Anglaises*, IV, 1-14 (Janvier-Mars, 1940).

- Goggio, Emilio. "Emerson's Interest in Italy." *Italica*, XVII, 97-103 (Sept., 1940).

He "gave lofty praise to Manzoni," and "was most familiar with Dante and Michael Angelo."

- Stearns, A. Warren. "Four Emerson Letters to Dr. Daniel Parker." *Tuftsian*, I, 6-9 (Nov., 1940).

About the *Dial*, books, lectures, and manuscripts of poems, to a physician who was a voluminous reader and writer.

- [FULLER, MARGARET] Stern, Madeleine. "Margaret Fuller and *The Dial*." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XL, 11-21 (Jan., 1941).

The discussion centers around Margaret Fuller's editorial policies, her associates (including George Ripley, business manager), her angling for contributors, her labors connected with the reading and editing of manuscripts and proofreading, her reaction toward the

severe attacks directed against the *Dial*, and finally, her contributions made to the periodical under Emerson's editorship.

[GRISWOLD, R. W.] McCusker, Honor. "The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold." *More Books*, XVI, 105-116 (Mar., 1941).

The first installment of a catalogue of "nearly all the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold," which is now in the Boston Public Library.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Dony, Françoise. "Romantisme et Puritanisme chez Hawthorne, à propos de la 'Lettre Pourpre.'" *Études Anglaises*, IV, 15-30 (Janvier-Mars, 1940).

Doubleday, Neal Frank. "Hawthorne's Criticism of New England Life." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 639-653 (Apr., 1941).

Hawthorne's social criticism is found in *The House of the Seven Gables*, in which the best estimates of his generation may be found, and in *The Blithedale Romance*, his most extended treatment of reformers and their delusions. These books refute the notion that Hawthorne was isolated from contemporary life.

[KEY, F. S.] Lippencott, Margaret E. "O'er the Land of the Free." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bul.*, XXV, 28-36 (Jan., 1941).

A study of the early printings of the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner" from 1814 to 1829, and of the song's music from 1798 to 1846.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Di Giovanni, Margaret. "The Italian Friends of Longfellow." *Italica*, XVII, 144-147 (Dec., 1940).

In 1869 Longfellow paid a visit to Manzoni, and met other cultivated Italians who knew his poetry.

Gohdes, Clarence (comp.). "A Check-List of Volumes by Longfellow Published in the British Isles during the Nineteenth Century." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 46 (Sept.-Dec., 1940).

Part one of a list compiled from library catalogues.

Weber, Carl J. "Rebekah Owen Corrects a Sonnet of Longfellow's." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 141-144 (Mar., 1941).

Although Longfellow approved Miss Owen's emendation of his sonnet on Shakespeare, death prevented him from altering the poem.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Mabbott, T. O. "A Review of Lowell's Magazine." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVIII, 457-458 (June 29, 1940).

Poe's praise of Lowell's *Pioneer* in the Philadelphia *Saturday Museum*.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Davis, Merrell R. "Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859." *Phil. Quar.*, XX, 46-57 (Jan., 1941).

His tour took him to Chicago, Milwaukee, Rockford, Ill., and Quincy, Ill. Some newspaper reviews were disapproving, but the

Milwaukee *Daily Wisconsin* for Feb. 26, 1859, printed a two-column favorable review.

[PEIRCE, C. S.] Carpenter, Frederic I. "Charles Sanders Peirce: Pragmatic Transcendentalist." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 34-48 (Mar., 1941).

The transcendental doctrine that men might achieve goodness by following the instinctive God within them became scientific and pragmatic in Peirce. The "anti-intellectualism" of the transcendental philosophy became one of the foundations of the new pragmatism.

Hartshorne, Charles. "Charles Sanders Peirce's Metaphysics of Evolution." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 49-63 (Mar., 1941).

[POE, E. A.] Lewis, Charles Lee. "Edgar Allan Poe and the Sea." *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 5-10 (Jan., 1941).

"There is considerable evidence in his writings that Poe felt strongly the fascination of the sea, and if he had been afforded the opportunity of wider acquaintance with it, he might have further enriched our literature with more sea poetry and stories."

Mabbott, T. O. See above, *s.v.* LOWELL.

Quarles, Diana. "Poe and International Copyright." *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 4 (Jan., 1941).

Research reveals that "The Copyright Question," appearing in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1842, is not the work of Edgar Allan Poe, but of Archibald Allison, author of *History of Europe during the French Revolution*.

Walcutt, Charles Child. "The Logic of Poe." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 438-444 (Feb., 1941).

The pendulum of critical thought about Poe has swung too far in "establishing him as a normal, sensitive *highly rational* man of his time." An examination of the progression of thought in "The Philosophy of Composition" (1846) shows "the confusion of Poe's so-called logic." This semblance of logic in his critical essays should "be taken for what it is—an element of Poe's style."

[SHILLABER, B. P.] Masters, Edgar Lee. "Benjamin Penhallow Shillaber." *Mark Twain Quar.*, IV, 22, 24 (Fall-Winter, 1940-1941).

On the humor of the creator of Mrs. Partington.

[SIMMS, W. G.] Wegelin, Oscar. "Simms's First Publication." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Rev.*, XXV, 26-27 (Jan., 1941).

The only known copy of *Monody. On the Death of Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*, published anonymously in Charleston, South Carolina, 1825, is in the collection of the New York Historical Society.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Collins, Thomas Lyle. "Thoreau's Coming of Age." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 57-66 (Jan., 1941).

Thoreau, alone of the Transcendentalists, "was able to lift himself above the blind optimism of his time and survey with sharp, clear

eyes" the false values of a materialistic era. His criticism applied to government, society, and the individual, marks him as "our first, and as yet our only, true liberal."

- [TIMROD, W. H.] Cardwell, Guy A., Jr. "William Henry Timrod, the Charleston Volunteers, and the Defense of St. Augustine," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, 27-37 (Jan., 1941).

Interesting episodes in the life of the father of the poet, Henry Timrod.

- [TUCKER, N. B.] McDermott, John Francis. "Nathaniel Beverley Tucker in Missouri." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, XX, 504-507 (Oct., 1940).

Biographical information.

- [WHITTIER, J. G.] Snyder, Edward D. "Whittier's Letters to Ann Elizabeth Wendell." *Bul. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, XXIX, 69-92 (Autumn, 1940).

The printing of sixteen letters to the poet's cousin in Philadelphia, introduced by an estimate of their importance and explanatory notes.

### III. 1870-1900

- [CABLE, G. W.] Turner, Arlin. "George Washington Cable's Literary Apprenticeship." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXIV, 168-186 (Jan., 1941).

An analysis of Cable's "Drop Shot" column, which appeared in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, 1870-1871.

- [GODKIN, E. L.] Stone, I. F. "Free Inquiry and Free Endeavor." *Nation*, CL, 150, 158-161 (Feb. 10, 1940).

Contrast between the old *Nation* of Godkin and the new *Nation*. Villard, Oswald Garrison. "Godkin's 'Nation,'" *Nation*, CL, 152-154 (Feb. 10, 1940).

- [JOHNSTON, R. M.] Long, Francis Taylor. "The Life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland, 1867-1898." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXV, 270-286 (Sept., 1940); XXXVI, 54-69 (Mar., 1941).

Continued from XXXIV, 305-324 (Dec., 1939). Part II. Some Literary Friendships—The Lecture Platform, 1882-1889. Part III. The Closing Years, 1889-1898.

- Parks, Edd Winfield. "Professor Richard Malcolm Johnston." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXV, 1-15 (Mar., 1941).

A detailed record of Johnston's services as professor and trustee of the University of Georgia from 1858 to 1867.

- [LANIER, SIDNEY] Hollar, Rosita Holdsworth. "Lanier, Agrarian Poet-Prophet." *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 71-73 (Feb., 1941).

- [WHITMAN, WALT] Mann, Klaus. "The Present Greatness of Walt Whitman." *Decision*, I, 14-30 (Apr., 1941).

Williams, Stanley T. "The Adrian Van Sinderen Collection of Walt Whitman." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gazette*, XV, 49-53 (Jan., 1941).

This collection of Whitman in the Yale Library is a "superb *working* collection of both primary and secondary source materials." It includes one hundred seventy books wholly or in part by Whitman; about a hundred of Whitman's manuscripts; volumes from his personal library; and miscellaneous items.

#### IV. 1900-1941

[BABBITT, IRVING] Sypher, Wylie. "Irving Babbitt: A Reappraisal." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 64-76 (Mar., 1941).

"In general Babbitt desired in both ethical and aesthetic activity the 'imitation' of a standard; in ethics his standard was set by the 'higher will' issuing from ethical consciousness, but his artistic standard was an 'imagination' controlled not at all by aesthetic, but only by ethical experience."

[BENÉT, S. V. and W. R.] Winwar, Frances. "Two Poets: Stephen Vincent and William Rose Benét." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 415-427 (Feb., 1941).

A critical analysis, with biographical sketches, of the poetry of the Benét brothers.

[BROOKS, VAN WYCK] Kohler, Dayton. "Van Wyck Brooks: Traditionally American." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 629-639 (Apr., 1941).

Critical approbation of his recent chronicles of New England.

[FITZGERALD, SCOTT] O'Hara, John, and Schulberg, Budd, Jr. "In Memory of Scott Fitzgerald." *New Republic*, CIV, 311-312 (Mar. 3, 1941).

Personal reminiscences and appraisals by two friends.

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Egly, William H. (comp.). "Bibliography of Ellen Anderson Gholson Glasgow." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 47-50 (Sept.-Dec., 1940).

Works by and about Ellen Glasgow.

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Watts, Harold. "Robinson Jeffers and Eating the Serpent." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 39-55 (Jan., 1941).

Jeffers has denied the tendency to theologize, to ask questions concerning man's final ends. In a sort of "inverted mysticism," Jeffers tries again and again to attain a view of man's final destiny without once asking the questions of orthodox mysticism and mystical theology.

[MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Zabel, Morton Dauwen. "The Poet on Capitol Hill." *Partisan Rev.*, VIII, 2-19, 128-145 (Jan., Mar., 1941).

[MARQUAND, J. P.] Benét, Stephen and Rosemary. "J. P. Marquand: A Really Remarkable Writer." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books*, XVII, 5 (Mar. 16, 1941).

Like Thackeray, Marquand is developing from a hack writer into a great novelist.

[ROBINSON, E. R.] Van Norman, C. Elta. "Captain Craig." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 462-475 (Feb., 1941).

Despite the unfavorable criticism of "Captain Craig," it warrants a closer examination which includes a detailed consideration of the place of the poem in the minds of present-day critics, its form and structure in relation to its theme and in the interpretation of its underlying philosophy.

[WHARTON, EDITH] Kazin, Alfred. "The Lady and the Tiger: Edith Wharton and Theodore Dreiser." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XVII, 101-119 (Winter, 1941).

The luxury which nourished Edith Wharton and gave her the opportunities of a gentlewoman cheated her as a novelist and prevented her from seeing the crucial realities of the world in which she lived. Her novels show little or no interest in the accession of the new class but only in the destruction of her own. By contrast, Dreiser's life has made him acutely sensitive to the cruelty and squalor of existence; his contribution to the cause of American naturalism has been a unique one because he understood a world in which only the strong went forward.

#### V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Brewster, Paul G. "More Indiana Sayings." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 21-25 (Feb., 1941).

Eckstorm, Fannie Hardy. "'Pixilated,' a Marblehead Word." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 78-80 (Feb., 1941).

Heflin, Woodford A., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., and Treviño, S. N. (comps.). "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 57-63 (Feb., 1941).

Bibliography of books, articles, and pamphlets on Present-Day English, General and Historical Studies, and Phonetics.

Krumplemann, John T. "Charles Sealsfield's Americanisms." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 26-31 (Feb., 1941).

Consideration of twenty-four words and phrases in the vocabulary of Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl), which contribute to our historical knowledge of American speech.

Nock, Albert Jay. "Utopia in Pennsylvania: The Amish." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXVII, 478-484 (Apr., 1941).

This account of the customs of the Old Amish contains a discussion of Amish folk literature.

Read, Allen Walker. "The English of Indians (1705-1745)." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 72-74 (Feb., 1941).

Russell, I. Willis. "Notes on American Usage." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 17-20 (Feb., 1941).

Stanley, Oma. "Negro Speech of East Texas." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 3-16 (Feb., 1941).

#### VI. GENERAL

Bridenbaugh, Carl. "The Press and the Book in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXV, 1-30 (Jan., 1941).

Emphasizes the part played by Franklin's predecessors and contemporaries in the printing of books and the founding of libraries.

Cardwell, Guy A., Jr. "On Scholarship and Southern Literature." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XL, 60-72 (Jan., 1941).

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"California writers . . . even Steinbeck . . . do not carry a weight proportionate to the bulk of their work."



## THE HUMANISTIC IDEALISM OF ROBERT FROST

HYATT HOWE WAGGONER

*University of Omaha*

ALTHOUGH Robert Frost's poetic position seems as secure as that of any contemporary poet, the philosophical point of view consistently expressed in all of his poetry has never been adequately set against the thought currents of the past and of our day. Critics of the poet tend admiringly to see him as the voice of New England,<sup>1</sup> the plain man speaking simply of homely things,<sup>2</sup> or the voice of common sense;<sup>3</sup> or, disapprovingly, they charge that he is not really contemporary, since he does not deal with science and machine civilization, or with the problems arising out of these two determining factors of our age, but with country folk, birds, flowers, and snowstorms.<sup>4</sup> Others, the Neo-Humanists, come closer to understanding his thought when they praise him for having the perspicuity to see the rightness of their position and the virtue to associate himself with it.<sup>5</sup> But Mr. Frost says that he is not a Neo-

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Amy Lowell, in *Recognition of Robert Frost*, ed. Richard Thornton (New York, 1937), pp. 47, 48; Carl Van Doren, "Quintessence and Sub-soil," *Century Magazine*, CV, 629-630 (Feb., 1923); Waldo Frank, *Our America* (New York, 1919), pp. 161-162; T. K. Whipple, *Spokesmen: Modern Writers and American Life* (New York and London, 1928), pp. 94-116; Percy H. Boynton, *Literature and American Life* (Boston, 1936), p. 808.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney Cox in *Robert Frost: Original "Ordinary Man"* (New York, 1929), *passim*, and William Rose Benét, in "Wise Old Woodchuck," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XIV, 6 (May 30, 1936); see also the following writers in *Recognition of Robert Frost*: Sidney Cox, pp. 155-161; Lascelles Abercrombie, pp. 24, 28; Cornelius Weygandt, p. 72; W. H. Auden, pp. 294-295; Russell Blankenship, pp. 223-226.

<sup>3</sup> Gorham B. Munson has been the chief exponent of this view in his *Robert Frost: A Study in Sensibility and Good Sense* (New York, 1927), *passim*. See also James Southall Wilson, "Robert Frost: American Poet," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, VII, 318 (April, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> See Isidor Schneider in a review of *Collected Poems*, *Nation*, CXXXII, 101-102 (Jan. 28, 1931); Albert Feuillerat in *Recognition of Robert Frost*, pp. 269-282; Russell Blankenship, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> The best discussion of Frost's relationship to humanism may be found in Gorham B. Munson's "Robert Frost and the Humanistic Temper," *Bookman*, LXXII, 419-422 (July, 1930). See also Munson's *Robert Frost: A Study in Sensibility and Good Sense*.

In a recent (Aug. 19, 1940) talk with the writer, Mr. Frost told of a conversation with Professor Norman Foerster in which the latter maintained that the poet had given in his poetry sufficient evidence of being a Humanist. Mr. Frost, however, denied any connection with the group and asserted that any likeness between his thought and that of the Humanists is accidental.

Humanist. His protest against nearly all that science and the machine have done to our thinking and our lives has other intellectual roots; it springs, in fact, from a philosophical tradition so old and so respected in American intellectual history that it is somewhat surprising that no critic has ever adequately analyzed its background.<sup>6</sup> An attempt to see the philosophy in Mr. Frost's poetry in relation to the tradition which he carries on and the current tendencies in thought which he opposes may help to clarify the issues.

## I

When Robert Frost entered Harvard in 1897, he found there the same intellectual mood that had both disturbed and stimulated E. A. Robinson a few years before: *fin de siècle* disillusion and pessimism were in the air.<sup>7</sup> During his two-year stay he was impressed most by two sets of ideas that seem to him now, in retrospect, to have dominated Harvard intellectual life in the late nineties: naturalistic disillusion about life, man, and (consequently) democracy; and

<sup>6</sup> That there have been some few critics who have recognized the intellectual affinity between Frost and Emerson is true. No one of them, however, has ever given full consideration to the significance of this aspect of Frost's philosophical background. For example, T. K. Whipple in *Spokesmen* says, "Frost, in short, has not a little of the transcendentalist in his make-up" (p. 102), and Whipple sees this "transcendental streak which keeps him from a simple, naïve, unreflecting enjoyment of things, which suggests that a bird is not merely a song and a splash of color, but something mysteriously tinged with meaning, and which always sets up an inner experience to vie with, if not to outdo, the outer" (p. 108), as the root of Frost's symbolism in such poems as "Mending Wall," "Birches," "Wild Grapes," and "Two Look at Two." Bernard De Voto in "The Critics and Robert Frost," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XVII, 15 (Jan. 1, 1938), points out that the basic assertion in Frost's work of the essential dignity of man and human experience is "all but unique in this generation," the "only major affirmation that modern American literature has made," and that in this affirmation, Frost shows an intellectual kinship with Thoreau and is but carrying on the literary tradition of Thoreau's generation of New Englanders. Louis Untermeyer in "One Singing Faith," *Saturday Review of Literature*, VII, 530 (Jan. 17, 1931), calls Emerson Frost's "true kinsman" and finds them alike in their feeling about the ordinary man—in "the recognition of man's infinite possibilities"—and in their "lifelong curiosity 'about man's place among the infinities.'" James Southall Wilson in "Robert Frost: American Poet," *op. cit.*, p. 318, makes the statement that "in the combination of the philosopher and the practical man of wisdom, Robert Frost is like Emerson of whom he reminds one in some ways only because they are so different." G. B. Munson in "Robert Frost and the Humanistic Temper," *op. cit.*, p. 421, says when analyzing Frost's so-called unconscious affinity with the humanistic position, "... he has deeply read his Virgil and his Emerson." Alfred Kreyenborg in *Our Singing Strength* (New York, 1934), p. 318, declares that Frost has looked to the tradition of Emerson, Bryant, and Whittier. Cornelius Weygandt, *op. cit.*, p. 65, finds in Frost the "higher provincialism" he found in Emerson and Thoreau.

<sup>7</sup> See Hermann Hagedorn, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1938), and H. H. Waggoner, "E. A. Robinson and the Cosmic Chill," *New England Quarterly*, XIII, 65-84 (March, 1940).

scientism, the attitude of those so excited by the triumphs of the scientists that they proclaimed that everything—poetry, philosophy, and even common sense—must give way to science.<sup>8</sup>

From the beginning Frost was hostile to both these complex points of view. While he shared Professor Santayana's distaste for the Bumstead variety of optimistic scientism, unlike the naturalistic philosopher he found nothing to emulate in the rather numerous Peter Aldens of the day. But the lack of intellectually congenial spirits among his teachers did not lead to bewilderment or uncertainty of direction. Beset by the same terrible problem that darkened Robinson's mind during these and later years, he found his solution more quickly, and with less groping uncertainty, than did the young poet from Gardiner. Unable to give credence either to scientific optimism or to scientific pessimism and equally unable to accept the philosophies of protest against scientific materialism developed by Royce and Babbitt, he turned to Emerson, whose poetry he had long been acquainted with, and to William James for an antidote for the poison of scientism and disillusion.<sup>9</sup> Not by accident but guided by ideas and dispositions already taking mature shape within him, reading in the way that Emerson had urged American scholars to read, he had come upon what is perhaps the central tradition in American thought.

Mr. Frost has never grown away from that tradition. When asked today what philosophers most influenced his thinking during his formative years, he replies with the names of Emerson and James; when asked to give his reaction to thinkers with whom he came into contact, either personally or through books, during his

<sup>8</sup> On August 19, 1940, and again on several occasions in July, 1941, at the poet's farm in Ripton, Vermont, Mr. Frost discussed with the author his philosophy and, in particular, his reactions to science. Some of the statements made by Mr. Frost during the course of these several visits are quoted or paraphrased in this paper as valuable corroborations of an independent analysis of his poetry. All such quotations and restatements are identified in the text or in a footnote; for the analysis and interpretation not so identified the author is responsible.

<sup>9</sup> Emerson's poetry he discovered and learned to love, Mr. Frost says, very early in life. (He adds, characteristically, that one who knows the poetry hardly needs to read the prose.) That he has not forgotten Emerson is evidenced not only by his statements to that effect but by the fact that in one talk lasting some two hours he quoted Emerson twice and referred to him again when the subject being discussed was not philosophers but relativity. William James he also discovered outside of class: acquainted with James's books and reputation, he was unable to take a class with him during the first year because of university regulations and during the second year because (as Mr. Frost now recalls it) James was off duty that year. (Interview of August 19, 1940.)

Harvard years, having dismissed Adams, Santayana, and Royce, he says of James, "There was a man," and of Emerson, "A great spirit!"<sup>10</sup> Frost's poetry, then, cannot be completely understood except against this background of the tradition of pragmatic idealism.

That Emerson did not develop a completely self-consistent system is too obvious to bear more than mention, but it is important for an understanding of what Frost has taken from Emerson. The poet found no necessity for adopting a "system" complete and ready-made or rejecting it entire; what he found in Emerson that appealed to him philosophically was attitudes and hints, passages and essays and poems which lighted the way along which he was groping. Emerson's emphasis upon the paramount importance of the individual and the necessity of self-reliance; his statement, perhaps the best that the past has yet produced, of the end for which democracy exists as the means;<sup>11</sup> his attitude toward experience and scholarship and the relation of the two; his insistence upon the reality of moral and spiritual values—all this and more Frost found in Emerson, and all this is expressed in Frost's life and poetry. The Emerson of the poems, of "Self-Reliance" and "The Poet" and "Fate," of the flashes of insight that are valid without reference to German romantic transcendentalism, remains Frost's master.

In James, whose connection with Emerson has been shown by Mr. F. I. Carpenter, Frost found the pragmatic tendency of Emerson's thought developed; and he found, too, what seemed to him convincing reasoning in opposition to the swelling current of naturalistic materialism. Though there is no evidence that he was impressed by "the will to believe," he had great sympathy for James's valiant defense of a humanistic interpretation of man and experience in the face of a science that denied that either was what it seemed.

So, after two years, having already found what he wanted and fearing, perhaps, that to stay longer would interfere with what had become his chief interest, the writing of poetry, he left Harvard. To have remained, he thought, would have necessitated meeting nat-

<sup>10</sup> Interview, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Although Emerson tended to favor the Whig party over the Democratic, as Professor A. I. Ladu has shown in his recent "Emerson: Whig or Democrat," *New England Quarterly*, XIII, 419-441 (Sept. 1940), it has never, I believe, been disputed that his writings express the philosophy of a democracy whose aim should be the fullest possible development of each individual in accordance with the peculiarities and necessities of his own nature, toward the good life.

uralistic disillusion and confident scientism on their own grounds and arguing against them at close quarters; because he had already found the solid New England rock on which to build his intuitive philosophy, Harvard had lost its attraction for him. Here was the forking of the road in Frost's life. Along one branch, well-traveled, went most of the intellectuals of the day—Mark Twain and Henry Adams, E. A. Robinson and William Vaughn Moody, William Graham Sumner and John Fiske, each in his own way combating or accepting the domination of the doctrines of science over all things intellectual, each, whatever his ultimate position, taking as his starting point the method, the conclusions, or the implications of science. That road was to lead eventually to "the modern temper" and equally to Dr. Link's *Return to Religion*; to philosophic behaviorism with its startling pronouncement that "we need nothing to explain behavior but the ordinary laws of physics and chemistry,"<sup>12</sup> and equally to the neo-humanistic manifestoes of a decade or so ago; to historians to whom moral considerations are irrelevant to an understanding of history, and equally to Neo-Thomism. For Robert Frost that was the road not taken. He took the other and returned to New Hampshire to write poetry of life as he knew it, to keep close to common human experience and see the symbol in the fact. While Robinson was composing the philosophic subtleties of *Captain Craig* to express the idealism which he opposed to scientific materialism, Frost was writing the poems which later appeared in *A Boy's Will*. If this was "retreat," "escapism," why, let it be. How could one escape from life? Were not those who thought they had disposed of a poet by labeling him "escapist" merely begging the question to be settled—namely, whether the thing the poet wanted to leave alone was good or bad? Robert Frost knew what he wanted, and it was not the waste land.

## II

But when he left Harvard for Derry and Plymouth, England, and finally Vermont, he did not turn his back on what used to be called human frailty and sin, on evil and suffering, the shortness of life and the finality of death—the facts that make complete optimism seem a little ridiculous. He has been acquainted with the

<sup>12</sup> J. B. Watson in Watson and McDougall, *The Battle of Behaviorism* (London, 1928), p. 27.

dark. He has resolutely entered the darkest woods nature has to frighten man with, that he might determine his faith.<sup>13</sup> Again and again in his poetry he has written of the impersonal quality of nature, of the element of fate in life; he has always known that the stars look down "with neither love nor hate."<sup>14</sup> He has always known that nature, as William James said, is as wild as a hawk's wing. There is no tendency in Frost to romanticize. A great many of his poems, from the earliest to the latest, deal with storms that emphasize man's smallness and his need to be on guard, with gray and cheerless fall days, with old deserted houses and their reminders of death and fate. There are lines and suggestions in his poetry that, but for the differing styles, one could believe had been written by Housman. So much, in fact, is this true that a number of critics have remarked the "grayness" of his mood and have classified him as one of the poets deeply affected by the cosmic chill emanating from the doctrines of science.<sup>15</sup> His leaving the traveled road that would have led to a Harvard degree for the Derry farm that his grandfather bought for him was not a retreat from "life" but the move of a self-reliant individualist who, following the advice of his beloved Emerson, made the choice that seemed best to him though it

<sup>13</sup> See "Into My Own," *Collected Poems* (New York, 1930), p. 5; "I Will Sing You One—O," p. 265; "Acquainted With the Night," p. 324. See also pp. 12, 28, 38, 43, 131, 150, 309, 314. See also "In Time of Cloudburst," "Desert Places," and "Design," *A Further Range* (New York, 1936), pp. 30, 48, 58. Henceforth all titles of poems and all pages listed refer to *Collected Poems* unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>14</sup> "Stars," p. 12; "Trial by Existence," p. 28; "Reluctance," p. 43; "The Road Not Taken," p. 131; "I Will Sing You One—O," p. 265; "Once by the Pacific," p. 314; also "Design," *A Further Range*, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Amy Lowell, *op. cit.*, T. K. Whipple, *op. cit.*, Waldo Frank, *op. cit.*, and P. H. Boynton, *op. cit.*, see Frost's poetry as the epitome of dying Puritanism, reflecting all the somberness, desolation, and morbidity of a civilization that is slowly rotting.

James McBride Dabbs in "Robert Frost and the Dark Woods," *Yale Review*, XXIII, 514-520 (March, 1934), and "Robert Frost, Poet of Action," *English Journal*, XXV, 443-451 (June, 1936), portrays Frost as a typical modern, probing the problem of man's position in nature, which, though omnipotent, destructive, and unyielding, the poet nevertheless feels to be man's source and environment. This fascination by nature and the unknown, this strong sense of its influence upon man, Dabbs finds symbolized by the recurring image in many of the poems of the dark woods which alternately lure and repel Frost, leaving him wavering between man and nature. He sees Frost, too, wrapped in the "modern twilight of doubt" with "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening," the "final expression of this modern temper."

W. H. Auden, *op. cit.*, p. 296, comments on the "melancholy and stoical" tone of Frost's work.

Ludwig Lewisohn in *Expression in America* (New York, 1932) links Frost to the movement of naturalistic revolt (p. 493), and attributes Frost's acceptance of life as "tragic but not hopeless" to his adherence to naturalistic principles (p. 498).

meant flouting convention. He did not need the doctrines of post-Victorian science to keep him aware of the sadness of human life:

They cannot scare me with their empty spaces  
Between stars—on stars where no human race is.  
I have it in me so much nearer home  
To scare myself with my own desert places.<sup>16</sup>

Nor did deserting Cambridge for Derry mean that he could henceforth endeavor to remain ignorant of the thought-currents of his own time. He says now that he knows Freud only "out of the tail of my eye";<sup>17</sup> but though he is no avid reader of scientific books, he knows enough of the general trends of scientific thought to know where and why he differs with them. From the time of the publication of *New Hampshire* onward he has referred obliquely to science in many of his poems, and since about 1928, in keeping with the increasingly philosophic and didactic tone of his poetry, he has written several poems which explicitly state—as many of the earlier lyric poems suggest—his reactions to scientific thought. That there are not more such poems is not surprising to one who knows Frost's poetic credo and understands the man. But there are enough to enable us to chart his beliefs about the authority and value of science and about man's place in the universe.

If to doubt that scientists know all there is to know; if to doubt that their discoveries, though marvelously—and perhaps, too, fearfully—effective in changing man's immediate environment and supplying him with information, have turned into unwisdom most of what was once called wisdom; if to doubt, even, that this practically useful information has revealed anything *really* new about the essential nature of man and the world, anything never before known or surmised by poet or philosopher—if to doubt this is to be "singularly out of touch"<sup>18</sup> with one's own time, then Robert Frost is out of touch with our time. But if by "out of touch" we mean "behind" the times, as, for example, we might say that Hamlin Garland in his last years was out of touch with contemporary problems, then it is significant that Frost's ideas, where they run counter to what

<sup>16</sup> "Desert Places," *A Further Range*, p. 48. All quotations in this article from *Collected Poems* and *A Further Range* are by permission of Mr. Frost and Henry Holt and Company. All the poems referred to in this article are now available in the 1939 edition of *Collected Poems*.

<sup>17</sup> Interview of August 19, 1940.

<sup>18</sup> Isidor Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 101. For a somewhat comparable view, see F. I. Carpenter, review of *Collected Poems*, *New England Quarterly*, VI, 159-160 (Jan., 1932).

may perhaps be termed the "orthodox" scientific views, are strikingly similar to those of an extremely important and influential scientific and philosophic minority. And it seems to many competent observers that the scientists and philosophers who, like Frost, are highly critical of the naïve scientism and materialism exemplified by Haeckel and of the whole structure of Victorian and post-Victorian science are laying the foundations for a new "modern temper." If one thinks immediately of Alexis Carrel's *Man the Unknown*, one need not rest his case on that sensational book; the works of Whitehead, Eddington, Jeans, John Scott Haldane, C. E. M. Joad, Northrop, and Hook, to name no more, offer impressive support for the poet's intuitions.<sup>19</sup> If Frost is out of touch with our time because of his attitude toward science, then a strong case could be made out to prove that these scientists and philosophers must also, when they oppose current tendencies and interpretations, be out of touch with our time. And not scientists and philosophers only: all those literary critics, artists, and theologians who have castigated the age for the blindness of its science-worship must likewise be included in Frost's category. For the basis of the poet's philosophy is the basis of theirs also: the conviction that the increase of scientific knowledge has not rendered useless the truths known to poets and philosophers through the ages. Or, putting it in a way less displeasing to scientists, science (to paraphrase both Robert Frost and Bertrand Russell) is a power-knowledge; it is in itself neither understanding nor wisdom, and what it leaves out of account may be as important for philosophy as what it considers.

This conviction Frost expresses in many ways, sometimes seri-

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1931), *passim*; Sir Arthur Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World* (New York and London, 1931), chaps. i, viii, and xv, and his *The Philosophy of Physical Science* (New York and London, 1939), *passim*; F. S. C. Northrop, *Science and First Principles* (New York, 1931), *passim*, esp. chaps. i, iv, v, and vi; Sir James Jeans, *The Mysterious Universe* (New York and Cambridge, 1933), *passim*; A. H. Compton, *The Freedom of Man* (New Haven, 1935), *passim*, esp. chap. iv; C. E. M. Joad, *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science* (New York, 1932), chaps. viii-xi; J. S. Haldane, *Mechanism, Life and Personality* (London, 1913), *passim*, and his *The Philosophical Basis of Biology* (London, 1931), *passim*; J. W. N. Sullivan, *The Limitations of Science* (New York, 1933), *passim*; Alexis Carrel, *Man the Unknown* (New York, 1935), *passim*. An especially succinct and valuable statement of the nature and significance of the newer interpretations of science is to be found in Sidney Hook's "Storm Signals in American Philosophy," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XIV, 29-43 (Winter, 1938). Professor Hook's discussion has especial relevance for students of the poetry of Robert Frost in its analysis of the various reactions to the nihilism of popular interpretations of science.



ously, sometimes humorously. "We've looked and looked," he writes in "The Star Splitter," after telling of Brad, who spent his nights looking through a telescope, "but after all where are we? / Do we know any better where we are . . .?"<sup>20</sup> Nor has psychology told us much about human nature that has not been known—much, that is, from the standpoint of the philosopher. To be sure, psychology is often effective power-knowledge; it aids manipulators in controlling people, for good or for bad.<sup>21</sup> But after writing, in the poem "At Woodward's Gardens," of an experiment with monkeys, the poet concludes, "The already known had once more been confirmed / By psychological experiment. . . ."<sup>22</sup> In "The White Tailed Hornet" he confutes those who intimate that he has no knowledge of science by dealing with perfect sureness of touch with a popular scientific theory of instinct; but he does more than show that he knows the theory: the suggestion in the subtitle—"or Revision of Theories"—is carried out in a criticism of the method of drawing sweeping philosophical conclusions from the data of science. What is pointed out is that followers of the "nothing but" philosophy commit what may be called the genetic or analytical fallacy:<sup>23</sup>

Won't this whole instinct matter bear revision?  
 Won't almost any theory bear revision?  
 To err is human, not to, animal.  
 Or so we pay the compliment to instinct,  
 Only too liberal of our compliment  
 That really takes away instead of gives.  
 Our worship, humor, conscientiousness  
 Went long since to the dogs under the table  
 And served us right for having instituted  
 Downward comparisons. As long on earth  
 As our comparisons were stoutly upward  
 With gods and angels, we were men at least,  
 But little lower than the gods and angels.  
 But once comparisons were yielded downward,  
 Once we began to see our images  
 Reflected in the mud and even dust,

<sup>20</sup> P. 221.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bertrand Russell on science as "power knowledge" in *The Scientific Outlook* (New York, 1931), pp. 81-84.

<sup>22</sup> *A Further Range*, p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> For a further discussion of this fallacy and its relation to literature and for references to discussion of it by philosophers, see H. H. Waggoner, "The Modern Temper," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXVII, 282-290 (July, 1938).

'Twas disillusion upon disillusion.  
 We were lost piecemeal to the animals,  
 Like people thrown out to delay the wolves.  
 Nothing but fallibility was left us,  
 And this day's work made even that seem doubtful.<sup>24</sup>

Briefly, then, the poet is saying that the limitations of human knowledge—and of scientific knowledge in particular—are severe. With Robert Frost the day of Bacon's, Fiske's, Haeckel's unbounded confidence in science is past; he knows that no matter how they may strain to be impartial and objective, to eliminate the inconstant and the uncountable, to control their experiments, by the scientific method alone men can see neither "out far" nor "in deep."<sup>25</sup> The caged bear who sits and rocks back and forth between the philosophy of one Greek and that of another or nervously paces from one end of his cage to the other, from telescope to microscope, is a "baggy figure, equally pathetic / When sedentary and when peripatetic."<sup>26</sup>

### III

If he opposes nearly all those aspects of "the modern temper" which spring from modern scientific culture and which the Thomists and the Humanists likewise oppose, he, like the Thomists and the Humanists, has a positive outlook to offer in place of what he dislikes. But—and here is the difference between Robert Frost and the chief contemporary idealistic and humanistic groups—he finds support for his idealism neither in the scholastic theologians nor in the Greek classics but in Emerson and James and his own experience. Fundamental in his philosophy is his conception of man's nature. In a period obsessed with the notions that moral ideas are meaningless, reasoning is rationalizing, and all previously held concepts of man's nature have been, somehow, exploded in the laboratory,<sup>27</sup> Frost holds that ideals are real,<sup>28</sup> that ideas are power-

<sup>24</sup> *A Further Range*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>26</sup> In "The Bear," p. 348.

<sup>27</sup> See esp. Hook, "Storm Signals in American Philosophy," *op. cit.*; Mortimer J. Adler, "This Pre-War Generation," *Harper's*, MLXXXV, 524-534 (Oct. 1940); and Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Modern Temper* (New York, 1929).

<sup>28</sup> See "Trial by Existence," p. 28, in which courage, fate, and freedom are dealt with, and a conclusion very like that of Emerson in "Fate" in *The Conduct of Life* is reached. See also "Reluctance," p. 43 (man does not accept fate passively); and "On a Tree Fallen Across the Road," p. 296 (man has a goal, a purpose, which takes him around or over "obstacles").

ful instruments in man's march toward his dream,<sup>29</sup> that man is not merely a body but a spirit as well,<sup>30</sup> that, in other words, intelligence and volition give man a power which is different from the force of a chemical explosion and which no laboratory experiment can prove to be illusory or necessarily doomed to frustration.<sup>31</sup> Man, bound by fate, yet has freedom;<sup>32</sup> and that freedom increases as intelligence and courage increase.<sup>33</sup>

The surest thing there is is we are riders,  
And though none too successful at it, guiders,  
Through everything presented, land and tide  
And now the very air, of what we ride.

What is this talked-of mystery of birth  
But being mounted bareback on the earth?  
We can just see the infant up astride,  
His small fist buried in the bushy hide.

There is our wildest mount—a headless horse.  
But though it runs unbridled off its course,  
And all our blandishments would seem defied,  
We have ideas yet that we haven't tried.<sup>34</sup>

Frost's position on the relation of man to nature is essentially that of Emerson in the essay "Fate." Though there is no suggestion in Frost that nature is wholly benevolent and purposeful, though man's struggle against blind power and fortuitous circumstance is never minimized, yet man's mind enables him partially to control and utilize nature. In one of his most characteristic metaphorical poems, "Sand Dunes," he puts the matter succinctly: the ocean eats away at the shore ceaselessly and fearfully through the eons of time, but, though she may change the position of sand dunes and even alter the shoreline completely,

<sup>29</sup> See "Riders," p. 345. Cf. Emerson in "Power" in *The Conduct of Life* and elsewhere in the essays. Cf. also James in "The Will to Believe" in the volume of that title (New York, 1897).

<sup>30</sup> See "A Soldier," p. 332. Specific reference to parallels in Emerson and James would here be superfluous.

<sup>31</sup> See "On the Heart's Beginning to Cloud the Mind," *A Further Range*, p. 38.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. William James, "The Dilemma of Determinism," in *The Will to Believe*; and Emerson, "Fate" in *The Conduct of Life*.

<sup>33</sup> See "Trial by Existence" and "On a Tree Fallen Across the Road." Cf. Emerson: "So far as a man thinks, he is free. . . . The revelation of thought takes man out of servitude into freedom. . . . The one serious and formidable thing in nature is a will" ("Fate," in *The Conduct of Life, Works*, Centenary ed., VI, 23, 25, 30).

<sup>34</sup> "Riders," p. 345.

She may know cove and cape,  
 But she does not know mankind  
 If by any change of shape,  
 She hopes to cut off mind.<sup>35</sup>

Here is a conception of man that is old-fashioned by the standards of the economic determinists and the behaviorists, the mechanists, the Marxists, and the nihilists. It is humanism without the absolutism or the emphasis on gentility, decorum, and "standards" characteristic of the humanism of More and Babbitt. It is rationalism if viewed in contrast with the antirationalism that springs from behaviorism and psychoanalysis;<sup>36</sup> but it is very like the pragmatism of James when viewed in contrast with the rationalism of the Neo-Thomists. Here is a conception of man utterly at variance with philosophical behaviorism and with most interpretations of psychoanalysis, with Watson's denial of reality to both mind and consciousness<sup>37</sup> and Freud's belief that "Dark, unfeeling, and unloving powers determine human destiny. . . ."<sup>38</sup> Here is a view of man which, since it does not deny the possibility of value in experience, does not make the writing of poetry a futile exercise or a purely private amusement, as Archibald MacLeish says "the modern temper" tends to do.<sup>39</sup>

Man is not deprived, in Frost's poems, of the essentially human characteristics, reason, faith, love, courage; neither is he portrayed as forlornly and precariously perched, a chemical accident, a cosmic joke, in an alien universe. "We will not be put off the final goal /

<sup>35</sup> P. 330. Cf. Emerson's position: "Let us not deny . . . [the ferocity in the interiors of Nature']. Providence has a wild, rough, incalculable road to its end, and it is of no use to try to whitewash its huge, mixed instrumentalities or to dress up that terrific benefactor in a clean shirt and white neckcloth of a student in divinity. . . . Nature is the tyrannous circumstance . . . necessitated activity . . . violent direction. . . . The element running through entire nature, which we popularly call Fate, is known to us as limitation . . . [But] though fate is immense, so is power, which is the other fact in the dual world, immense. . . . Just as much intellect as you add, so much organic power" ("Fate," *The Conduct of Life, Works*, VI, 8, 15, 20, 22, 27).

<sup>36</sup> See Hook, "Storm Signals in American Philosophy," *op. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> "In one sweeping assumption after another, the behaviorist threw out the concepts both of mind and of consciousness, calling them carry-overs from the church dogmas of the Middle Ages. . . . With the behavioristic point of view now becoming dominant, it is hard to find a place for what has been called philosophy. . . . The behaviorists now affirm that there is no faculty or process of memory. . . ." (J. B. Watson, *The Ways of Behaviorism*, New York, 1928, pp. 7, 14, 65).

<sup>38</sup> *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1933), p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> "An Anonymous Generation," *Saturday Review of Literature*, VI, 503-504 (Dec. 7, 1929).

We have it hidden in us to attain."<sup>40</sup> The universe is vast, impersonal, and sometimes terrifying, but the mind can grapple with it successfully, for we are a part of it.<sup>41</sup> Not infrequently in Frost's poetry this sense of the unity of man and nature, while it never blurs the distinction between man and the lower forms of life and the inanimate, becomes a longing for an almost mythical identification with nature:

The great Overdog,  
That heavenly beast  
With a star in one eye,  
Gives a leap in the east.

He dances upright  
All the way to the west  
And never once drops  
On his forefeet to rest.

I'm a poor underdog,  
But tonight I will bark  
With the great Overdog  
That romps through the dark.<sup>42</sup>

The telescope and the spectroscope are extremely valuable instruments, but they extend, they do not invalidate, the observations of the naked eye. The concept of the vastness of space springing from modern astronomy is impressive: it is thought-provoking, it makes good material for poetry if it really becomes a part of the experience of the poet, and it substantiates what poet and philosopher have long known; but it does not change the nature of man or the nature of that portion of the universe which we directly experience. Why should one lose faith in life because the further stars are shading off toward red? "The world's size has no more to do with us / Than has the universe's. . . ."<sup>43</sup> Life is implicit in the universe.<sup>44</sup> Though the inanimate universe seems to be "running down," life, which

<sup>40</sup> "On a Tree Fallen Across the Road," p. 296.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Emerson: "But every jet of chaos which threatens to exterminate us is convertible by intellect into wholesome force. Fate is unpenetrated causes. The water drowns ship and sailor, like a grain of dust. But learn to swim, trim your bark, and the wave which drowned you will be cloven by it, and carry it, like its own foam, a plume and a power. . . . For, if Fate is so prevailing, man also is part of it, and can confront fate with fate" ("Fate," *The Conduct of Life, Works*, VI, 31, 25).

<sup>42</sup> "Canis Major," p. 331.

<sup>43</sup> "Build Soil," *A Further Range*, p. 92.

<sup>44</sup> "Sitting by a Bush in Broad Sunlight," p. 342.

pushes up the stream against the death-current, is a product of the very current against which it struggles. Life, breasting the current of entropy, can only be described as a part of the stream turning back on itself. "West Running Brook," in which this idea is developed, is one of the most important philosophical poems of our period. Most frequently, however, Frost dismisses the "alien universe" fallacy humorously, as not worthy of being seriously argued about:

I turned to speak to God  
About the world's despair;  
But to make bad matters worse  
I found God wasn't there.

God turned to speak to me  
(Don't anybody laugh)  
God found I wasn't there—  
At least not over half.<sup>45</sup>

But even while he asserts man's power, Frost is a realist. He is by no means satisfied with life. In "The Peaceful Shepherd" he writes:

If heaven were to do again,  
And on the pasture bars,  
I leaned to line the figures in  
Between the dotted stars,

I should be tempted to forget,  
I fear, the Crown of Rule,  
The Scales of Trade, the Cross of Faith,  
As hardly worth renewal.

For these have governed in our lives,  
And see how men have warred.  
The Cross, the Crown, the Scales may all  
As well have been the Sword.<sup>46</sup>

And this attitude is typical of his spirit. He loves experience; but he is not tempted by his love, as a romantic optimist might be, to conceal life's blemishes. "We love the things we love for what they are."<sup>47</sup> Nor, though he dismisses astronomical spaces as not particularly significant for the problem of the nature of man and of

<sup>45</sup> "Not All There," *A Further Range*, p. 71.

<sup>46</sup> "The Peaceful Shepherd," p. 319.

<sup>47</sup> "Hyla Brook," p. 149.

the good life, is he insensible of the blight which modernism casts over sensitive minds. The question is "what to make of a diminished thing."<sup>48</sup> He is able, like Emerson at his best, to accept the limitations of time, fate, death, and frail human nature without coming to hate life and "debunk" man. But unlike Emerson, he constantly expresses his awareness of these limitations in experience: "So dawn goes down to day / Nothing gold can stay."<sup>49</sup> So life runs into death; and after death?

There may be little or much beyond the grave  
But the strong are saying nothing until they see. . . .

Now let the night be dark for all of me  
Let the night be too dark for me to see  
Into the future. . . .<sup>50</sup>

An agnostic in respect to the orthodox Christian creeds and a realist the core of whose philosophy is revealed in the poem "Acceptance," he nevertheless knows that life could not have come out of the universe had the germ of life not been instinct in the universe itself. He neither nurses false hopes nor agonizes over false despairs.

Unlike Robinson Jeffers, whose faith in man and all that life holds for him was destroyed by the modern temper and whose mystical aspiration is insecurely based on the possibility (for most men, certainly, the improbability) of transcending the human, Frost has faith in neither the beauty of hawks nor the peace and silence of stones, but in the possibilities within experience. His realism rests on a foundation of faith in man and in life.

IV

That faith may, it seems to me, be best described by the words *democratic*, *humanistic*, and *mystical*. His faith is democratic in that it involves a belief in the transcendent worth of the individual human life; it is humanistic in that it does not confuse man with nature and in that it bases its faith in man and in life on man's essentially human attributes and opposes the tendency of naturalistic interpretations of science to "explain away" man's humanity; and it is mystical both in its emphasis on intuitive awareness as a source

<sup>48</sup> "The Oven Bird," p. 150.

<sup>49</sup> "Nothing Gold Can Stay," p. 272.

<sup>50</sup> "The Strong Are Saying Nothing," *A Further Range*, p. 53, and "Acceptance," *Collected Poems*, p. 313.

of real knowledge and in its attempt to break down the boundaries of the discrete personality in its search for a mystical unity with nature. That much of this is merely suggested, not completely stated, in the poems is true; that some thinkers will find contradictions and philosophical inconsistencies latent in this outlook is also, no doubt, true. But a careful reading of all the poems leaves little question as to the general outlines of his thought: equally hostile to the genteel tradition and to the militant scientific empiricists, equally unsympathetic toward such "solutions" of the younger intellectuals as Marxism and Catholicism, in both of which he sees totalitarian tendencies, unlearned in the subtle philosophy of such critics of bourgeois scientific culture as M. Maritain and M. Gilson, he has neither "retired to the invincible heights of values, norms, and standards,"<sup>51</sup> nor escaped the dilemma of the modern temper<sup>52</sup> by joining with those who "adjust" man to a hostile universe by denying reality to all those aspects of man that distinguish him from rats and rocks. Standing off and viewing our "scientific" culture in the perspective of the ages, he has expressed in the whole body of his poetic work, from the earliest poem to the latest, both an attack and an affirmation:

As though a man who likes to live in the country is disqualified: As though a person had to live in New York to be a poet! Religion, escape! These themes of mine, escape!

No. My life has been the pursuit of a pursuit. Not a retreat. Near the beginning of Bunyan's book *Pilgrim* says, "I think I see it," and the rest of the book is the search. Escape may be the opposite: attack. Every man's life is a *wreaking* of himself upon something or someone. His base of operations is a personal matter. The only thing, the big thing, for us all is attack, finding something we have to take by the throat.

If you draw back far enough to strike a blow they say "escape." (A poem must have a point like a joke, point and thrust.) If you draw off it's because you have a longer spear, perhaps. (It's like a boy and the running broad jump.) My weapon's a lance and I have to back up to use it right. The dirk is a city weapon. . . .<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Hook, *op. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> The two horns of the dilemma are the concepts of the alien universe and of man as the extreme behaviorists conceive him. See H. H. Waggoner, "The Modern Temper," *loc. cit.*

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Amos Wilder, *The Spiritual Aspects of the New Poetry* (New York and London, 1940), pp. 33-34.



From his chosen vantage point, close to the earth and to men too, relying, like Emerson's scholar, on experience and insight rather than on books, though taking from books what it has suited him to take, Robert Frost enunciates principles which science is supposed by many to have invalidated. He holds that man is man, not a reaction machine,<sup>54</sup> and that value judgments in ethics, esthetics, and social philosophy are not nonsense syllables, personal explosions, or unmeditated biological impulses.<sup>55</sup> If we are controlled, we also control. If the stars look down with neither love nor hate for you and me, we need not conclude that we are in an alien universe. If knowing what to make of a diminished thing is a part of our problem today, it is only a part. The rest is keeping our faith and our common sense in the midst of the world's despair.

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion of the widespread tendency in modern poetry toward disillusion with man and admiration for and glorification of animals, see Elizabeth Atkins, "Men and Animals in Recent Poetry," *PMLA*, LI, 263-283 (March, 1936).

<sup>55</sup> See Hook, *op. cit.*

## SUGGESTIONS FOR INTERPRETING THE MARBLE FAUN

DOROTHY WAPLES  
*Lawrence College*

PERHAPS *The Marble Faun* is a novel which needs to be seen in a certain light to be fully revealed. Although Hawthorne has always had his admirers and defenders among literary critics, this novel has sometimes been selected for unfavorable comparison. Henry James, who so frequently penetrated to the core of Hawthorne's thought, set *The Marble Faun* at comparatively slight value among its author's novels. The faun he granted to be charming, but he said: "I think it a pity that the author should not have made him more definitely modern, without reverting so much to his mythological properties and antecedents, which are very gracefully touched upon, but which belong to the region of picturesque conceits, much more than to that of real psychology."<sup>1</sup> James was regarding the romance in the light of cosmopolitan realistic novels, and under that light it did not show well. Granville Hicks has complained in *The Great Tradition* that Hawthorne wrote as if unaware of the stream of thought in his own day. But Hicks was regarding Hawthorne from a point of view which sees only that great literature cannot be written within our social framework; and examined for traces of socialism, the novel does not shine. Ludwig Lewisohn has called *The Marble Faun* a book "quite without bone or muscle, that is, acceptable intellectual or moral content." He was viewing it as the expression of a private, personal, unnaturally exaggerated sense of guilt in Hawthorne. So viewed, of course the novel is devoid of acceptable content—even of sense.

Now, Mr. Lewisohn tells us that Hawthorne's treatment of sin is different from a normal artist's treatment; and to define the difference, he uses a statement by Thomas Mann. "The difference between Hawthorne and the more normal artist is this," Mr. Lewisohn says, "that the latter dwells upon the process of creative justification of himself and, as Thomas Mann has pointed out, hence of

<sup>1</sup> *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, n.d.), pp. 163-164.

mankind. Out of his need to justify himself he becomes servant and savior of his race and seeks constantly to 'justify the ways of God to man.' Hawthorne, on the contrary, was imprisoned with his feeling of guilt and impelled to state and restate it in tale after tale and romance after romance."<sup>2</sup>

The best part of this passage is its statement that the normal artist conducts a creative justification of mankind. If we test Hawthorne's novel by this demand upon the artist, we may by this very definition find in *The Marble Faun* some bone or muscle, after all, some intellectual or moral content. In the process, we may even discover a connection between the faun and "real psychology" which escaped Henry James. We may find a content acceptable enough to warrant our saying that instead of being merely provincial, out of the stream of contemporary thought, or indicative of abnormality, *The Marble Faun* now shows itself "more definitely modern" than it seemed to James.

It has been asked before this whether "nature caught in the snare of guilt" is indeed the subject of *The Marble Faun*. Is not the subject, rather, nature improved by a share of guilt?<sup>3</sup> This is a theme so daring that though it is reiterated, Hawthorne tempers it to the shorn lambs who may read it; Hilda is allowed to say, perhaps on behalf of the timid reader, that the idea is shocking.

Hawthorne is investigating for himself the nature of good and evil. He puts into Miriam's mouth the question whether the murder had not been a blessing in disguise, a means of education whereby the "simple and imperfect nature" of Donatello had been brought to "a point of feeling and intelligence which it could have reached under no other discipline." Kenyon warns her that she is tending towards "unfathomable abysses." But Miriam professes that "there is a pleasure" in such thoughts.

But these thoughts are on the fall of man: "I delight to brood on the verge of this great mystery. . . . The story of the fall of man! Is it not repeated in our romance of Monte Beni?" As the romance of Monte Beni repeats Adam's story, so does the life of Donatello repeat the romance of his ancestor of Monte Beni. It is evident,

<sup>2</sup> *Expression in America* (New York, 1932), pp. 184, 172-173.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lloyd Morris, *The Rebellious Puritan: Portrait of Mr. Hawthorne* (New York, 1927), pp. 79, 142-143, 332; D. H. Lawrence, passages on Hawthorne in *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York, 1923).

then, that in this novel Hawthorne is attempting to define the Fall; and presently we are obliged to admit that he is also attempting to "justify the ways of God to man," for Miriam proceeds to ask: "Was that very sin into which Adam precipitated himself . . . the destined means by which . . . we are to attain a higher, brighter, and profounder happiness, than our lost birthright gave? Will not this . . . account for the permitted existence of sin, as no other theory can?"<sup>4</sup> When the sculptor cries out that he cannot follow Miriam in these thoughts, it is not because he thinks they are untrue, but because he feels that they are dangerous. "Ask Hilda," advises Miriam. Kenyon, after some solitary thinking, does ask Hilda the same questions. She shrinks from Kenyon and his dangerous probings; but we have already perceived that Hilda's own soul has been made more capacious and her heart has been opened merely by her bystander's knowledge of the crime. Her well-brought-up conscience simply will not let her admit what Hawthorne has told us about her.

Despite Hilda's shrinkings, Hawthorne, tested by Lewisohn's citation of Mann, seems to qualify as a normal artist, so far as his intentions are concerned. The question would be whether his method is interesting and his conclusion acceptable.

## I

Now, there is an indication of deeper than superficial insight in the fact that when they consider the educative power of sin, Miriam feels pleasure; Kenyon, attraction and fear; and Hilda, revulsion. Yet this insight is interesting principally if we consider it from a twentieth-century point of view. Compare Hawthorne with Henry James as a writer of psychological novels, and *The Marble Faun* is nonsense; but compare him with an author who has the ideas of this century, such as Thomas Mann, whom Lewisohn cited against him, and *The Marble Faun* shows both profundity and charm.

One reason for this difference is that since *The Marble Faun* was written Sigmund Freud has given statement and currency to some theories of mental behavior which Hawthorne seems to have objectified in the novel. How clearly Hawthorne defined the psychological manifestations in question and how well he embodied them in fiction, will be variously estimated; but even though these matters are disputed, if reading *The Marble Faun* in the light of some

<sup>4</sup> *The Marble Faun* (Boston, 1860), II, 250-251.

contemporary ideas brings out any new values in a novel which has been depreciated, it will not be a valueless activity.

To list some topics which interested both Freud and Hawthorne is distinctly not to attempt psychoanalysis of Hawthorne, in any degree whatever;<sup>5</sup> the purpose here is to use a psychologist's statement of some ideas which are discernible in *The Marble Faun* as ideas, treated by a conscious artist, not as unconscious symptoms.<sup>6</sup>

Five such ideas which are stated by Freud are: timelessness as a characteristic of the unconscious; the connection between myth or symbol and the unconscious; repetition-compulsion; the existence of a death instinct; the contest for the soul between life and death.

Mention of these concepts perhaps will suggest to various readers various contemporaries who have made use of them in fiction. It may be advantageous in this essay not only to demonstrate the similarity of ideas in Hawthorne's novel to these five concepts but also to illustrate his modern use of them by comparison with a contemporary novelist who shares them. Since Thomas Mann has already been mentioned as defining the artist's aim, it is fitting that his work be that chosen for these comparisons.

## II

First, then, to be considered, is Hawthorne's use of timelessness. As Thomas Mann's Hans Castorp learned in a sanatorium that months were of different lengths under different circumstances, Hawthorne learned in Rome what comparative antiquity is. After seeing the "Egyptian obelisks . . . put even the Augustan or Republican antiquities to shame," he set down in his notebook that he remembered "reading in a New York newspaper, an account of one of the public buildings of that city—a relic of 'the olden time,' the writer called it; for it was erected in 1825!"<sup>7</sup> And so when Haw-

<sup>5</sup> Lewisohn's remarks, professedly Freudian, on the probability of Hawthorne's having had a sense of guilt with an erotic origin, exhibits the kind of errors laymen make in attempts to psychoanalyze; Freud himself says that a sense of guilt is not erotic in origin but arises from aggressiveness turned inward by self-restraint, and that moral anxiety arises from a conflict of the ego with the super-ego, not with the id. See *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (London, 1933), pp. 103, 104, 141-143.

<sup>6</sup> Régis Michaud, *The American Novel To-day* (Boston, 1928), p. 32, writes that Hawthorne "is, in many respects, very Freudian," but applies this interpretation chiefly to *The Scarlet Letter*, dealing in rather general terms with repressions. L.-E. Chrétien, *La Pensée morale de Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Paris, 1932), appears to have a Freudian interpretation of *The Marble Faun* in mind, but if so, it comes to little more than emphasizing the importance of love as being a recurrent theme in the novel.

<sup>7</sup> *Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books* (Boston, 1892), p. 60.

thorne wished to have his reader in "that state of feeling which is experienced oftenest at Rome," this feeling turns out to be "a vague sense of ponderous remembrances; a perception of such weight and density in a bygone life, of which this spot was the centre, that the present moment is pressed down or crowded out, and our individual affairs and interests are but half as real here as elsewhere." For "Side by side with the massiveness of the Roman Past, all matters that we handle or dream of now-a-days look evanescent and visionary alike."<sup>8</sup> Other passages preserve as the enveloping atmosphere of Rome this dream of confused time and even of place, lest we awake from it.<sup>9</sup>

Now, this sense of timeless dream serves a purpose in the novel. It is not mere texture for its own sake. Timelessness is, we are told, a trait of the unconscious mind.<sup>10</sup> As an element in the atmosphere of this novel, it is of strong effectiveness in bringing out the significance of such a mythological creature as a faun. The connection between the unconscious mind and myth is, of course, now well known.<sup>11</sup> There are interesting indications that Hawthorne saw a connection between certain symbols which appear frequently in myth and the operations of the unconscious mind.

He not only wrote of a spiritualistic séance that it seemed to be "a sort of dreaming awake" because "the whole material is, from the first, in the dreamer's mind," but said this material was "concealed at various depths below the surface." He thought the exploration of these levels of the mind was important, for he said he could not "sufficiently wonder at the pig-headedness both of metaphysicians and physiologists, in not accepting the phenomena so far as to make them the subject of investigation." He makes an ingenious suggestion in interpretation, himself, in the theory by which he accounts for the mischievous spirit, Mary Runnel, who was the only spirit in the séances which did not come "evidently from Dreamland." She, he suspects, "represents that lurking scepticism, that sense of unreality, of which we are often conscious amid the most vivid phantasmagoria of a dream."<sup>12</sup> These statements are

<sup>8</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 16-17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 131, 137, 149, 152, 190, 192, 197, 201; II, 93, 223.

<sup>10</sup> Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> Compare, for instance, the dream symbol of the bridge with the bridge in mythology. Freud, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38, writes of the existence of such parallels.

<sup>12</sup> Italian Note-Books, Sept. 1, 1858, MS (Morgan Library). Illustrations from Haw-

indications that Hawthorne had a general interest in the unconscious.

But Hawthorne shows in *The Marble Faun* an interest in specific symbols. The first page of this novel introduces us to a statue which is the "symbol . . . of the Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand," and which is equally a personification of the action of the book which is thus opened. The statue is "the pretty figure of a child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assaulted by a snake," and Hawthorne recognizes that the symbols here used have been apt ones for two thousand years. Echoes of the symbolism of dove and snake are repeated at intervals as if to keep a pattern.<sup>13</sup> A legend is true, he once wrote, "if it is a genuine one that has been adopted into the popular belief, . . . and incrustated over with humanity, by passing from one homely mind to another. Then, such stories get to be true, in a certain sense, and indeed in that sense may be called true throughout, for the very nucleus, the fiction in them, seems to have come out of the heart of man in a way that cannot be imitated by malice aforethought. . . ."<sup>14</sup> Though this was said of the growth of legend, it would serve as a good description of the development of the symbols of mythology, and may be taken as an indication that Hawthorne was aware of the process by which these emerge.

### III

The faun concept is the principal element of mythology which connects the timeless Roman atmosphere with the unconscious. The novel is not named for Donatello, but for a marble statue which had set the novelist wondering what the faun's relationship was to man. The novel is his answer to the questions which thus arose. Hawthorne's conclusion was that Praxiteles' sculpture was an expression or symbol of man's delightful escape from his own moral censor: "Perhaps it is the very lack of moral severity, of any high

thorne's fiction other than *The Marble Faun*. of his knowledge of the unconscious, such as the presence of both invited and uninvited shapes from the past at "A Select Party," would form too long a list here. But Hawthorne's own half-waking dreams and composition in a trancelike state have been mentioned by Arlin Turner ("Autobiographical Elements in Hawthorne's 'The Blithedale Romance,'" University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 15, pp. 39-62) and E. L. Chandler (Smith College *Studies in Modern Languages*, VII, 31, July, 1926) and perhaps have some bearing.

<sup>13</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 75, 120, 218; II, 123, 175, 199.

<sup>14</sup> *Septimius Felton* (Cambridge, 1883), p. 326.

and heroic ingredient in the character of the Faun, that makes it so delightful an object to the human eye and to the frailty of the human heart." Furthermore, the inception of the statue in the sculptor's mind seemed to Hawthorne to be derived, possibly, from a racial memory: "after all, the idea may have been no dream, but rather a poet's reminiscence of a period when man's affinity with nature was more strict, and his fellowship with every living thing more intimate and dear." The faun was "Neither man nor animal, and yet no monster; but a being in whom both races meet on friendly ground! The idea grows coarse as we handle it, and hardens in our grasp. But, if the spectator broods long over the statue, he will be conscious of its spell."

Donatello at first possessed just this charm. Besides this, he had an origin in "the same happy and poetic kindred who dwelt in Arcadia, and . . . enriched the world with dreams, at least, and fables, lovely if unsubstantial, of the Golden Age." He is a personification in fiction as the faun was in marble of one aspect of the mind. Even Kenyon and Hilda seem half aware of a connection between the faun concept and the unconscious. Kenyon is amused and charmed to discover that under Hilda's "little straw hat" "Great Pan is not dead . . . after all!" and "The whole tribe of mythical creatures yet live in the moonlit seclusion of a young girl's fancy. . . ." But on an earlier occasion Hilda has confessed, not without "shrinking a little," that she does not quite like to consider what the source might be of the "nameless charm" which Kenyon felt in a creature "not supernatural, but just on the verge of nature." Hilda, with all her purity, never quite liked to face her own thoughts, and this shrinking may have been shrinking from herself. Hawthorne may have intended Kenyon to be speaking more truly than the sculptor realizes about the habitat of mythical creatures under straw hats.<sup>15</sup>

Since the faun represents only one side of human nature, Hawthorne works out his fable with the help of a second symbolic figure, the spectre of the catacombs. The spectre is not, like the faun, a figure already established in mythology "by passing from one homely mind to another"; but there are indications that he, like the faun, symbolizes in this novel a part of the unconscious mind. The spectre's demon face, which resembles one painted by Guido,

<sup>15</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 133-135, 24.



brings up queries about its inception similar to those inspired by the marble faun; had Guido "hit ideally upon just this face" by imagining "the utmost of sin and misery," or was it a portrait of a face that had actually haunted the master "into the gloom" of his last years and after the painter's death had lurked in the ancient sepulchres for centuries until "it was Miriam's ill-hap to encounter him"? Is the spectre's archetype, in other words, a product of an individual's imagination, or a summary of racial experience?<sup>16</sup>

In this double symbolism of faun and spectre, *The Marble Faun* is highly comparable to "Death in Venice," where the figures of life, death, and love seem to be projections from the mind of the moribund artist in the story and yet to have objective life as well. Donatello and the spectre similarly seem to move about Rome like visible characters and mortal men, but to be at the same time eternal symbols of two sides of the human soul. These two sides of the soul engage in a struggle for supremacy; and, as in "Death in Venice," they represent the life instinct and the death instinct at war. For an explanation of this contest between life and death, we must turn to Freud's theory of repetition-compulsion.

#### IV

Briefly, this theory of repetition-compulsion runs thus: Man feels a compulsion to repeat past events which is a stronger principle in him than is the pleasure principle, since it can drive him to repeat painful experiences by recall. This behavior, and also the tendency to torture others or as a substitute to torture himself, gave rise to the hypothesis that there is in man a positive desire for dissolution, a death instinct. Freud connects this death instinct with the repetition-compulsion by the theory that if "life arose out of inanimate matter," since that moment the repetition-compulsion has sought to "re-establish the inorganic state of things." Thus the instinct for death would be the result of life and inseparable from life, even an indication of life. The impulse to self-destruction may be regarded

<sup>16</sup> There are hints (hardly to be called proofs) that the spectre, like the faun, had his dwelling in the human mind. The chapter title "Subterranean Reminiscences" suggests a mental underworld as well as a physical one. "She has called me forth," says the spectre, as if he might have been kept submerged. The spectre, having been admitted to Miriam's studio, "left his features . . . in many of her sketches." Of certain gloomy paintings repellent to Donatello and evidently done under the spectre's influence, Miriam said: "They are ugly phantoms that stole out of my mind; not things that I created, but things that haunt me" (I, 45-46, 61).

as "the manifestation of a *death instinct*, which can never be absent in any vital process. And now the instincts in which we believe separate themselves into two groups: the erotic instincts, which are always trying to collect living substance into even larger unities, and the death instincts which act against that tendency, and try to bring living matter back into an inorganic condition. The co-operation and opposition of these two forces produce the phenomena of life to which death puts an end." This sounds, Freud says himself like Schopenhauer, but Freud claims a difference: "We do not assert that death is the only aim of life; we do not overlook the presence of life by the side of death. We recognize two fundamental instincts, and ascribe to each of them its own aim."<sup>17</sup>

The use of repetition in connection with timelessness is well illustrated from Thomas Mann's fiction in those passages in which characters, such as Hans Castorp and Joseph, identify themselves with their ancestors. Frequently Mann connects both repetition and loss of the time sense with myth, as in the repetitions of the essential features of the Adonis myth in various guises over and over in *Joseph and His Brothers*, until the throwing into the pit and the descent into monkeyland seem themselves variations of the myth.

So Donatello is connected with repetition and with myth by more than his resemblance to his Dionysian relatives. He repeats not only the appearance and character of those members of his line who bear the marks of the faun; he repeats also the experience of the knight who wooed and lost the fountain nymph, him who stained the spring with blood. And his story repeats (so Miriam says) Adam's Fall.

Repetition occurs also in the career of the faun's antithesis, the spectre of the catacombs: in the rumors of his agelong existence, during which he is said to have prevailed on "any unwary visitor to take him by the hand" and in the gratification of "his fiendish malignity" by perpetrating some mischief, bringing back some old pestilence or "long-buried evil" or "teaching the modern world some decayed and dusty kind of crime."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Freud, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-140. The idea is more fully developed in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (London and Vienna, 1922).

<sup>18</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 200, 178, 47.

v

The breath of pestilential death and crime, rising repeatedly from the underground haunts of decay by the willingness of some unwary mortal—this is the spectre's cycle. The animal vitality of Donatello, on the other hand, offers an opposing force. It becomes more and more distinct in the pattern of *The Marble Faun* that the fable of this novel is the struggle between the death instinct represented by the spectre and the life instinct represented by Donatello.

The Borghese Gardens are a world where time works no revenges and where Miriam and Donatello are merged in nymph and faun. Here the venerable ilex trees dream, forgetful that "only a few years ago they were . . . imperilled by the Gaul's last assault." The tender mingling here of art and wildness is a kind of landscape allegory of the constant tendency of nature to redeem her domain from man's control. Time here is confused, and even age itself may be illusion, for "veritable relics of antiquity" or figures touched by "artful ruin" may close a vista. So the Gardens seem "to have been projected out of the poet's mind." Here is the proper setting for myth: "If the ancient Faun were other than the mere creation of old poetry, and could have appeared anywhere, it must have been in such a scene as this." And here we see the life instinct in Donatello contesting for possession of Miriam against the death instinct in the spectre.

When the faunlike youth entered the Gardens, his spirit took on "new elasticity." For Donatello languished in the "stony-hearted streets." He had disliked the excursion into the underworld of catacombs, though the rest of the party, more normal persons, "went joyously down into that vast tomb, and wandered by torchlight through a sort of dream." He could not bear "all that ghastliness which the Gothic mind loves to associate with the idea of death." His ancestors of Monte Beni had "hated the very thought of death" for generations. They had been a "cheerful race of men in their natural disposition"; so much so that a sinful ancestor had found it needful to order an alabaster copy of his own skull to be handed down to his posterity to correct their indulgence in life's enjoyments. Donatello in time has need of that same skull, but in the Gardens he is purely careless animal vitality.<sup>19</sup>

When Miriam steps into the dreamworld of the Borghese Gar-

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 51, 26, 37, 38; II, 38.

dens, and Donatello drops into the path before her from the tree he has climbed to view the fairyland, she is uncertain whether he comes from the upper or the lower world. More than ever, she is impressed by his likeness to the marble faun, and feels a new affection for him. Fearing the emotion for its very sweetness, she cries out, "Donatello, how long will this happiness last?" Donatello, who knows no more of time than of death and can remember his own boyhood only by his "best effort," answers, "Forever! Forever!"

Yielding to the gaiety of Donatello and the "sweet wilderness," Miriam herself for a while seemed "born to be sportive forever." The scene then was "a glimpse far backward into Arcadian life."

But it was only Donatello's charm that created the timeless Arcadia. The spell presently was broken, and then the Gardens became "only that old tract of pleasure-ground, close by the people's gate of Rome,—a tract where the crimes and calamities of ages, the many battles, blood recklessly poured out, and deaths of myriads, have corrupted all the soil, creating an influence that makes the air deadly to human beings." For Miriam's model, he of the catacombs, has brought, as he always does in the novel, the touch of ruin and of death. No sooner had the "mysterious, dusky, death-scented apparition" thrown his shadow across the Arcadian sunshine of the Gardens, than all joy died there. Miriam exchanged her dream of eternal gaiety for a hope of suicide.<sup>20</sup>

When the spectre first appeared in the novel, his shaggy dress gave him a resemblance to a satyr; but Donatello's instant repugnance disclaims all brotherhood. If he is intended to have any attributes of the satyr, and the shaggy dress is meant to indicate anything beyond mere realism, it must be the violence without the sunny carelessness of the wild part-man. In later appearances, the spectre wears a costume (a monk's habit) more in keeping with his Gothic connection with the catacombs. As Hilda is compared to a dove, so is he to a serpent. When he first emerges to our view in the heart of underground darkness, the actors in the event seem to be surrounded not merely by a place of death but by death itself; the "great darkness spread all round" a little chapel where the party stood shuddering, and seemed "like that immenser mystery which envelopes our little life, and into which friends vanish, one by one." At such a moment one of the friends, Miriam, does vanish from

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 116, 51, 121-122.

their circle, and is discovered with the spectre. The spectre is always obsessed by a sense of guilt, and seems to carry "the time-stains and earthly soil of a thousand years." If, as one tale has it, he ever served as Guido's model, it was for a demon's face.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps the particular demon face which Hawthorne in his own mind set upon the spectre's shoulders was not drawn by Guido, but by Michelangelo, for in looking through a collection of drawings, much as the artists were doing in the novel when they came upon the sketch of Guido's demon, Hawthorne found that of Michelangelo's drawings in the collection, the "most striking was a very ugly demon." Guido's triumphant Michael, however, had deeply impressed Hawthorne in spite of his not being much attracted to Guido in general. Perhaps when Hawthorne introduced Guido's painting into the novel instead of a drawing by Michelangelo of a single demon, he did so because the theme of the novel, the struggle between two powers, was more adequately echoed by this picture of the "immortal youth" of the angel triumphant over sin and death.<sup>22</sup>

The play of chiaroscuro is so prominent in Hawthorne's work that it has attracted attention everywhere, not merely as a technique of description, but as a pattern of joy and sorrow which Hawthorne saw in life. In "The Maypole of Merry Mount," light and gaiety are associated with classical paganism, gloom with northern Christianity; a connection which resembles *The Marble Faun*, in which the faun derives from Arcadia and the spectre is twice connected with the word "Gothic,"<sup>23</sup> to say nothing of his monastic associations. For normal life, Hawthorne insisted upon the need for both sun and shade, and he went so far as to continue this requirement when sun and shade were life and death themselves.

While Hawthorne was still in Italy and working on *The Marble Faun*, he knew what it was to be attracted to death.<sup>24</sup> This tendency in him has, indeed, been often remarked.<sup>25</sup> *Septimius Felton* decides in favor of the usefulness of death; and the characters in that tale

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 75, 120, 40, 186, 197, 51, 178. The order of page references here, as in other footnotes, corresponds to the order in which the respective passages are cited or quoted in the text.

<sup>22</sup> *French and Italian Note-Books*, pp. 398, 163, 310, 505-506; MS, Feb. 21, 1858 (Morgan Library).

<sup>23</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 38, 197.

<sup>24</sup> See the MS of the Italian Note-Books in the Morgan Library for passages deleted in the published version: Sept. 29, 1858; June 11, 1859; June 12, 1859; May 16, 1860.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd Morris alone refers to it several times: *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 78, 99, 217.

who appear to have the strongest vitality are the ones who are not seeking to prolong life.

So Hawthorne treats Donatello's extreme fear of death as well as the spectre's constant dwelling in the halls of death as unsuitable for a whole and normal person. Miriam was quite aware that death could be regarded as an "unspeakable boon," that darkness of mood was "just as natural as daylight to us people of ordinary mould." She had a curiosity about death which increased even while Donatello's horror of it, after the murder, was growing. Though it was horror which first called upon Miriam to summon her courage and face death by looking at the monk's corpse, she was able, after this, to see majesty in death, even when it was represented in this man than whom there had been "nothing, in his lifetime, viler." (Compare Hans Castorp's interest in death.) Hawthorne says that Miriam was two women in one. She was able to embrace life and yet to face death as the incomplete faun-man could not. Her wisdom lay in this complete embracing of experience, and in this also lay her power to assist Donatello, to draw him from unthinking animal existence, into thoughtful human life.<sup>26</sup>

For Donatello needed a shadow in his sunshine,<sup>27</sup> but he also needed love. Shut away from Miriam in his tower, with the alabaster skull, Donatello learned to think of death, but the thoughts did not return him to life. At the mere anticipation of meeting Miriam in Perugia, some of his old brightness came back to him. When Kenyon sees him in the Campagna rejoined to Miriam, much of his old charm and vitality glow about him without loss of his new manliness. "It is the surest sign of genuine love, that it brings back our early simplicity to the worldliest of us," Kenyon had once said about this love of Miriam and Donatello. Love brings us out from shadow and unreality into life and eternity, Hawthorne wrote of his own love.<sup>28</sup>

It takes both love and death to form the Garden of Eden. Donatello and Miriam in the Borghese Gardens seemed to be a glimpse into "the Golden Age, before mankind was burdened with sin and sorrow, and before pleasure had been darkened with those shadows

<sup>26</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 67, 190, 237-242, 107-108.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 64, 102-103.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 136. Randall Stewart (ed.), *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1932), p. lxx.

that bring it into high relief, and make it happiness." Death is needed to make Eden of those gardens; and this "final charm is bestowed by the malaria." So Kenyon wanders in the sorrow-haunted vineyards at Monte Beni like an "adventurer who should find his way to the sight of ancient Eden, and behold its loveliness through the transparency of that gloom which has been brooding over those haunts of innocence ever since the fall. Adam saw it in a brighter sunshine, but never knew the shade of pensive beauty which Eden won from his expulsion."

Now, it is a part of Donatello's insufficiency as a man that he felt nothing of the "dreamlike melancholy" of the Gardens. He not only lacked Miriam's premonition that their hour of joy must die, but when the spectre had already killed it, he cried, "Why should this happy hour end so soon?" And yet, in Hawthorne's description, there had been something in the scene all along that had hinted at mortality. The dance in the Gardens resembled "the sculptured scene on the front and sides of a sarcophagus, where . . . a festive procession mocks the ashes and white bones that are treasured up within. You might take it for a marriage-pageant; but after a while" you see some sad break in the gay movement. "Always some tragic incident is shadowed forth or thrust sidelong into the spectacle; and when once it has caught your eye you can look no more at the festal portions of the scene except with reference to this one slightly suggested doom and sorrow."<sup>29</sup>

Thomas Mann's Settembrini, like Hawthorne, was interested in ancient sarcophagi, and for the same reason; the adornment of the tomb with emblems of life revealed, he said, that "These men knew how to pay homage to death. For death is worthy of homage, as the cradle of life. . . . Severed from life, it becomes a spectre. . . ." When death at length comes perilously near to Hans Castorp in the snow, Hans in a dream solves the riddle by recognizing that it is love that overcomes death's attraction; but he discovers, also, that death is close to the shrine of love and life.<sup>30</sup> The debate in *The Magic Mountain* as to whether life is not "only an infection, a sickening of matter," brings up the question whether the creation of life did not constitute the Fall. This idea is developed more fully in the opening of *Joseph and His Brothers*, where Mann weaves together

<sup>29</sup> *The Marble Faun*, I, 114.

<sup>30</sup> *The Magic Mountain* (New York, n.d.), pp. 256, 362, 626.

myths of the origin of life and death. Perhaps the soul was, "like matter, one of the principles laid down from the beginning, and . . . it possessed life but no knowledge." Having no knowledge, it inclined "towards still formless matter, avid to mingle with this and evoke forms upon it." Matter, however, "sluggishly and obstinately preferred to remain in its original formless state." But God, coming to the aid of the soul, created the world, that the soul might engender man; and he also sent "spirit to man in this world," to serve as a reminder to "the human soul imprisoned in matter" that "the creation of the world came about only by reason of its folly in mingling with matter." The spirit's "hoping and striving are directed to the end that the passionate soul . . . will at length . . . strike out of its consciousness the lower world and strive to regain once more that lofty sphere of peace and happiness." Hence, the attraction man feels for death: but "its rôle as . . . grave-digger of the world begins to trouble the spirit in the long run . . . ; while being, in its own mind, sent to dismiss death out of the world, it finds itself regarded . . . as . . . that which brings death into the world." So, Mann says, "It remains controversial which is life and which death."<sup>81</sup>

## VI

Now, the transformation of Donatello from the charming but soulless animal into a man by the knowledge of death and love is the fable of *The Marble Faun*; but whereas in the beginning of the book the struggle takes place between the two abstractions of life and of death, the faun and the spectre, with the murder of the spectre this situation undergoes a basic alteration, which is that the struggle between life and death now goes on within Donatello's dawning soul.

This internal struggle of the wretched Donatello is evidently representative of the struggle of the human race. Donatello in his pained retirement at Monte Beni seemed to Kenyon to represent natural man upset by modern civilization.<sup>82</sup> But Hawthorne wrote of the marble faun in terms which would be effective if applied not to one creature but to a certain level of the nature of mankind: the faun had "no principle of virtue" and was "incapable of understanding such"; only his capacity for warm attachment offered a possibil-

<sup>81</sup> *Joseph and His Brothers* (New York, 1934), pp. 38-48.

<sup>82</sup> *The Marble Faun*, II, 17.



ity for his education; through the operation of this capacity, however, "the coarser animal part of his nature might eventually be thrown into the background, though never utterly expelled."<sup>83</sup> If the faun and the early Donatello stand for one level of man's mind, Donatello's struggle to become a man has universal meaning; if they do not stand for this, they would seem to have little meaning whatever. Assuming that they do have this meaning, Hawthorne's education of Donatello into "truer and sadder views of life" by his "glimpses of strange and subtle matters in those dark caverns, into which all men must descend," is a universal experience. When Donatello can strike a balance between his new knowledge of death and his natural vivacity, he will be ready for reconciliation with Miriam and will be a man.

When the transformation is completed and the reconciliation takes place, the action of the story is over. There is added in the book, however, a feeble conclusion which betrays by its very sketchiness how little interest its author took in it. This conclusion, indeed, was so far from a conclusion, left for the literal-minded so many questions unanswered, that Hawthorne was obliged to add (complaining) a further set of explanations. By placing his fable in a realistic setting, Hawthorne brought upon himself the difficulty of having to dispose of his Miriam and Donatello in a practical modern external society. He sent them to a prison and a nunnery to avoid crushing them under lives of hidden guilt. From the calf in the Campagna to the unlikely detail of the bleeding of the corpse, details are drawn from Hawthorne's observations, and the surface of the novel is amazingly realistic. Yet the fable itself is "a fanciful story, evolving a thoughtful moral," and the novel is at its best while the fable is progressing.

It is at its best, that is to say, most acceptable as to its moral content, where it is most modern; where faun and spectre are clear in their symbolic opposition, and where in a mysterious timeless realm the instinct for life and the instinct for death repeat the ancient story of the Fall.

<sup>83</sup> It was to have been expected that Donatello would, if left to his natural development, eventually betray the sensuality and surly selfishness characteristic of his family as the members of it advanced in age. See *The Marble Faun*, II, 12; I, 20-21, 25, 101, 117, 187.

## HENRY JAMES AND HIS FRENCH CONTEMPORARIES

W. C. D. PACEY

*Brandon College*  
*Brandon, Manitoba*

HENRY JAMES made his first contact with France in 1844. From this visit he retained only an impression of the Place Vendôme; but since he was only one year old at this time, it is a memory which, if authentic, testifies to the early development of his remarkable powers of observation. He was in Europe again from 1855 to 1858, much of the time in Paris, and again in 1859-60. After a ten-year interval in America, he returned in 1869-70, and made a short stay in Paris in the latter year. The autumn of 1872 was spent in the French capital, and in 1875 he came with the intention of settling there, although in actual fact he remained only a little over a year. Subsequently London and Rye were his headquarters, but throughout his life he made frequent visits to France, especially to Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The fruit of these visits was a lifelong interest in French literature, an interest which left its mark on his own work. When he returned to America in 1860, at the age of seventeen, he eagerly devoured the successive issues of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,<sup>2</sup> wrote stories in imitation of Balzac,<sup>3</sup> and translated short pieces by Mérimée and Alfred de Musset.<sup>4</sup> Between 1866 and 1876 he contributed articles to American periodicals on Alfred de Musset, Baudelaire, Balzac, Sand, Charles de Bernard and Gustave Flaubert, the brothers Goncourt, and Mérimée. These articles, with the exception of that on the brothers Goncourt, were republished in book form in 1878 as *French Poets and Novelists*. Ten years later the volume entitled *Partial Portraits* appeared, including articles on Alphonse Daudet and Guy de Maupassant. *Essays in London and Elsewhere* (1893)

<sup>1</sup> *The Letters of Henry James* (2 vols.; New York, 1920), ed. P. Lubbock, I, 3, 4, 5, 12, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes of a Son and Brother* (New York, 1914), pp. 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, I, 8.

<sup>4</sup> These were "La Venus d'Ille" (see *Notes of Son and Brother*, p. 93) and "Lorenzaccio" (see *Letters*, I, 8).

included articles on Flaubert, Loti, and the brothers Goncourt. In 1902 he contributed the introduction to an English translation of *Madame Bovary* and in the same year wrote articles on Balzac and Zola; all three were reprinted in *Notes on Novelists, with Some Other Notes* (1914). In 1903 another article on Zola appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and in the same periodical two years later an essay on "The Lesson of Balzac."

From these articles it is possible to determine the features of contemporary French fiction which attracted James, and those which repelled him. Briefly, it was their rendering of sense-impressions and their technical dexterity which attracted him, their lack of moral and intellectual insight (as he saw it) which repelled him. That was his early attitude towards French novelists, and it remained his attitude, with only slight modifications, throughout his life.

So persistently is this note sounded in the first collection of essays, *French Poets and Novelists*, that it becomes rather monotonous. Gautier "had a passion for material detail, and he vivifies, illuminates, interprets it, woos it into relief, resolves it into pictures, with a joyous ingenuity"; "His faculty of visual discrimination was extraordinary"; yet "his world was all material, and its outlying darkness hardly more suggestive, morally, than a velvet canopy studded with nails." Balzac "was morally and intellectually so superficial"; he "had no natural sense of morality, and this we cannot help thinking a serious fault in a novelist"; but "he had a sense of this terrestrial life which has never been surpassed." George Sand is praised for her style and her fertile imagination, but she "had morally no taste." De Bernard "remains second-rate . . . because he had no morality."<sup>5</sup> In the brothers Goncourt, he tells us in the article on them written at this time, "the sense of the picturesque has somehow killed the spiritual sense; the moral side of the work is dry and thin."<sup>6</sup>

Much the same attitude is evident in *Partial Portraits*. "Like most French imaginative writers," Daudet "is much less concerned with the moral, the metaphysical world, than with the sensible." He has the gift of making his work "a compact and harmonious whole," and his style is masterly, but "his insight fails him when

<sup>5</sup> This, and the preceding quotations, are from the appropriate essays in *French Poets and Novelists*.

<sup>6</sup> *Galaxy*, XXI, 232 (Feb., 1876).

he begins to take the soul into account," and "that amounts, after all, to saying that he has no high imagination, and, as a consequence, no ideas." Maupassant's senses are extraordinarily alive, his hard clear style compels admiration, but "he has totally omitted one of the items of the problem," he has "simply skipped the whole reflective part of his men and women—that reflective part which governs conduct and produces character."

The attitude finds its classic expression in the essay on Flaubert in *Essays in London*. Flaubert's intense care for style and form is duly praised, but "even a style rich in similes is limited when it renders only the visible." James goes on:

It was not that he went too far, it was on the contrary that he stopped too short. He hovered forever at the public door, in the outer court, the splendour of which properly beguiled him, and in which he seems to stand as upright as a sentinel and as shapely as a statue. But that immobility and even that erectness were paid too dear. The shining arms were meant to carry further, the other doors were meant to open. He should at least have listened at the chamber of the soul. This would have floated him on a deeper tide; above all it would have calmed his nerves.<sup>7</sup>

We have there the essence of James's criticism of his French contemporaries.

From all this it would seem that in looking for possible French influences in James's own work we should confine our search to matters of technique, of structure, style, and accuracy in rendering sense-impressions. It is indeed in this direction that the search proves most fruitful; but before pursuing it let us attempt to establish a little more exactly the implications of James's adverse criticism of French writers. The ideal novel, it seems, is for James a work which has all the technical dexterity of Flaubert but which uses this technique to "listen at the chamber of the soul." What precisely does he mean by this last phrase? Undoubtedly questions of morality are included in it, but it is not moralizing of the George Eliot variety which he wanted. There is an essay on this latter novelist in *Partial Portraits*, in the course of which he writes of her:

The novel, for her, was not primarily a picture of life, capable of deriving a high value from its form, but a moralised fable, the last word of a philosophy endeavouring to teach by example. . . . We feel in her always

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

that she proceeds from the abstract to the concrete; that her figures and situations are evolved, as the phrase is, from her moral consciousness, and are only indirectly the product of observation.<sup>8</sup>

This quality in her work, he says, testifies to that side of her nature which is weakest—"the absence of free aesthetic life."

It is then between the externality of French fiction and the moral theorizing of George Eliot that we must look for James's ideal novel. The novel must be based upon direct observation, and not fashioned to fit a theory of ethics; on the other hand, observation must not stop at the epidermis of the characters. James was not concerned to pass a moral verdict upon his characters, but he was concerned to discover what moral verdict they passed upon themselves. He wanted to observe not merely their gestures and their dress but also the workings of their minds and consciences. French novelists paid insufficient attention, for his taste, to the inner life of their characters. To take an extreme example but one which will focus this distinction, consider his handling of the theme of *What Maisie Knew* and contrast it with its probable treatment at the hands of any nineteenth-century French novelist. For the latter, the interest of the story would have resided either in the person of Mrs. Beale Farange or in her first husband, perhaps in both, and their adulteries. Even Bourget, who is most like James of all his French contemporaries from this point of view, would merely have made the story another *Crime d'Amour*. The story handled in the French manner would have been an entirely different creation. Both Mr. and Mrs. Farange were too hardened to have any trace of conscience left, and the novel would become an account of their attempts to hoodwink one another and ensnare other victims, with possibly a generous sprinkling of sensual encounters. For James, on the other hand, the interest resides only very indirectly in the two adulterers, and still less in their actual adulteries. These people and their actions do not interest James precisely because their moral sense is dulled; for him the interest of the drama centers in the consciousness of Maisie and in the development within that consciousness of a moral sense. Whereas the French were primarily concerned to render exactly the falling of the stone into the water, James was primarily concerned with the gradually extending series

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

of concentric circles which that event sets in motion. That the French novelists were able to imply a great deal about the inner life of their characters without directly rendering it James seems never to have appreciated

This matter of the relative emphasis upon the external and the internal in human behavior constitutes the greatest divergence between James and the French realists who were his contemporaries; but there is a minor divergence which needs notice. The French realists, according to James, erred on the side of pessimism. Thus he writes of Maupassant, in *Partial Portraits*, that "the world represented is too special, too little inevitable, too much to take or leave as we like—a world in which every man is a cad and every woman a harlot." In the same volume, in the essay on "The Art of Fiction," he makes it clear that he despises rose-colored windowpanes, but asserts that "in France today we see a prodigious effort (that of Émile Zola, to whose solid and serious work no explorer of the capacity of the novel can allude without respect), we see an extraordinary effort vitiated by a spirit of pessimism on a narrow basis." Nor was this opposition to pessimism confined to James's earlier years; in 1909 he wrote: "How can one consent to make a picture of the preponderant futilities and vulgarities and miseries of life without the impulse to exhibit as well from time to time, in its place, some fine example of the reaction, the opposition or the escape?"<sup>9</sup>

For their neglect of the inner springs of conduct and for their unrelieved pessimism, then, James reproached the French realists; for their style and form, however, he had nothing but admiration, and it was in this direction that they exercised a profound influence upon his own work. Balzac was his chief, and most lasting, teacher. As late as 1905 he could say that Balzac had taught him "more of the lessons of the engaging mystery of fiction than . . . anyone else."<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, as early as 1860 he was writing stories in imitation of Balzac, and when in 1866 James reviewed the novels of George Eliot it was clearly Balzac who was his touchstone of high achievement.<sup>11</sup>

It was in 1875 that James's first article on Balzac appeared,<sup>12</sup> and

<sup>9</sup> *The Lesson of the Master* (New York ed.), Preface, p. x.

<sup>10</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XCVI, 170 (Aug. 1905).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 479-492 (Oct., 1866).

<sup>12</sup> *Galaxy*, XX, 814-836 (Dec., 1875); reprinted in *French Poets and Novelists*.

it makes clear the qualities in that novelist which impressed him. He praises his representation of vicious characters, but notes that his talent for characterization is less obvious when applied to the virtuous. He regrets Balzac's lack of a moral sense, but is loud in praise of his backgrounds: his houses, towns, rooms. "There is nothing in all imaginative literature," writes James, "that in the least resembles his mighty passion for *things*—for material objects, for furniture, upholstery, bricks and mortar." Equally striking is his power of portraying the exterior of persons: "The whole person springs into being at once; the character is never left shivering for its fleshly envelope, its face, its figure, its gestures, its tone, its costumes, its name, its bundle of antecedents."

In the light of this admiration, it is surely significant that James's own early novels are characterized by a wealth of material detail and that they include long descriptions of the appearance and antecedents of his characters. In his first published novel, *Watch and Ward* (1871), the main characters are introduced with long passages of set description, contrasting strongly with the indirect methods of later novels such as *The Ambassadors*. This first novel has been aptly described as a "Balzac-Dickensian trifle."<sup>13</sup> It was such a trifle indeed that James preferred to ignore it and consider *Roderick Hudson* his first novel. But it is not in dereliction of Balzacian methods that *Roderick Hudson* differs from its predecessor. In the preface to the novel James admits that "one nestled, technically, in those days, and with yearning, in the great shadow of Balzac." He was speaking particularly of his effort to "do" Northampton, Massachusetts, as Balzac had "done" the French *villes de province* as backgrounds for his novels, but there are abundant other traces of Balzacian influence in the novel. On page 9 we begin a long account of Rowland Mallet's ancestry, in which we are taken back to his grandparents; we are then given an account of his life to date—the whole making up eight pages of expository description. On page 23 occur fifty lines of description of Roderick's features and dress. When we reach Rome, there are long descriptions of the city, and the new characters are all elaborately introduced to us. The prime example is Mme. Grandoni's account of Mrs. Light, which occupies five pages, and at the end of which Rowland remarks, "Your report's

<sup>13</sup> By Ford Madox Hueffer, in *Henry James: A Critical Study* (New York, 1916) p. 108.

as solid as if it had been drawn up for the Academy of Sciences." The influence extends also to the characters. The mother of Christina, a scheming matchmaker of mercenary outlook, is, as one of the characters in the story remarks, "like some extravagant old woman in a novel by Balzac."

Similar influences can be seen in *The American* (1877) and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881). In both, the wicked, scheming old woman so common in Balzac's novels recurs—in the former novel it is Madame Bellegarde, in the latter Madame Merle. In both novels there are elaborate and detailed descriptions of persons and places. As for the Balzacian passion for things and for genealogies, what better example could there be than the opening pages of *The Portrait*, where, after a short passage of dialogue, we are given a long description of the country house of the Touchetts, including an enquiry into its previous owners? The story continues with set descriptions of the four men taking tea, Mrs. Touchett is then elaborately introduced, and when Isabel Archer appears we are treated to a detailed account of her home in Albany, New York, and even of the house across the street from hers. *Washington Square*, published in the same year, shows similar influences. One critic, indeed, has asserted that in this novel James had Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* before him as a model.<sup>14</sup> The influence persists in *The Bostonians* (1886), the novel with which this chapter in James's development closes.

James had not been following blindly in Balzac's footsteps. He was quite aware of the merits of the technique he chose to adopt in this period. In *The Portrait* he writes:

When you've lived as long as I you'll see that every human being has his shell and that you must take the shell into account. By the shell I mean the whole envelope of circumstances. There's no such thing as an isolated man or woman: we're each of us made up of some cluster of appurtenances. What shall we call our "self"? Where does it begin? Where does it end? It overflows into everything that belongs to us—and then it flows back again. I know a large part of myself is in the clothes I choose to wear. I've a great respect for *things*. One's self, for other people, is one's expression of one's self; and one's house, one's furniture, one's garments, the books one reads, the company one keeps—these things are all expressive.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> C. P. Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James* (Urbana, Ill., 1930), p. 281.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* (New York ed.), p. 287.



The words are, of course, put into the mouth of one of the characters of the story, but they testify nonetheless surely to James's awareness. He put it more briefly elsewhere at this time: "The new fashion of realism has indeed taught us all that in any description of life the description of places and things is half the battle."<sup>16</sup>

By the beginning of the twentieth century James's attitude on this question had been greatly modified. Writing of Balzac in 1902, he still maintained him to be "the first and foremost member of his craft," but declared that "the artist of the *Comédie Humaine* is half smothered by the historian."<sup>17</sup> He repeated the charge in 1905: ". . . he sees and presents too many facts—facts of history, of property, of genealogy, of topography, of sociology. . . ."<sup>18</sup> But once more Balzac is "the father of us all" and James's greatest teacher. What was it in Balzac that James found of enduring importance? It was not so much his use of objective detail as the motive that prompted that use. The motive was, according to James, a desire for "portentous clearness," an endeavor to "penetrate into a subject." "What he liked was absolutely to get into the constituted consciousness." Of enduring importance also was Balzac's impartiality in the handling of character, his preoccupation with rendering to the exclusion of judging. "His desire was to give all his characters their value," not to expose them as Thackeray wished to expose Becky Sharp. But what most impressed James in Balzac at this period was Balzac's power of composition: ". . . the fusion of all the elements of the picture, under his hand, is complete—of what people are with what they do, of what they do with what they are, of the action with the agents, of the medium with the action, of all the parts of the action with each other." He displays "an art of keeping together that makes of *Le Père Goriot* in especial a supreme case of composition."

The influence of Balzac upon James, then, was in part transient and in part permanent. The transient influence is felt in those early novels, from *Watch and Ward* to *The Bostonians*, where James builds up with elaborate detail the appearance, history, and environment of his characters. Later he came to see that the very number of these details might well obscure that which they were meant to

<sup>16</sup> "Alphonse Daudet," *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIX, 848 (June, 1882).

<sup>17</sup> *Notes on Novelists*—"Balzac," p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XCVI, 172 (Aug., 1905).

clarify. He substituted therefore a more impressionistic technique, in which the number of dry objective facts was reduced to a minimum by rigid selection. The early novels bristle with objective details; *The Wings of the Dove*, on the other hand, has hardly any. We may illustrate this contrast between the early and late novels by the fact that in *The Portrait of a Lady* we are told several times the exact figure of Isabel's fortune, whereas in *The Wings of the Dove* we are left only with a general impression of the vague vastness of Milly's. But in discarding Balzac's means, James did not lose sight of his ends, and it is here that we find the permanent part of the influence. The urge to render fully, to make portentously clear—this James retained. The difference is that in the later novels James substituted a passion for ideas for a passion for things. From the furniture of the room he transferred his attention to the furniture of the mind; he abandoned the effort to trace genealogies in order to trace the series of obscure impulses and instincts which precipitated a certain action; he ceased to draw faces to draw the mind behind the face. Here, too, of course he could learn much from Balzac—Balzac was the pioneer in the sphere of psychological analysis; but where the later James departed from Balzac was in his belief that a full representation of the exterior could not be combined with a full representation of the interior, that the two got in each other's way. He came to deplore the fact that Balzac's attention, in his novels, "ruthlessly transferred itself from inside to outside." In the later novels, James established his center of interest in the mind of one of his characters, and resolutely refused to shift it. As a result, in these novels he dealt with the material details of environment only as they became an integral part of the consciousness of his characters. A corollary of this change is that the influence of Balzac is less obvious in these later novels; but it was still operative in several directions. The plethora of material details went, but not the conscientiousness which inspired them; and if James went beyond Balzac in composing his novel wholly about the consciousness of a central character, it was Balzac who had implanted in him the sense of the importance of composition, "the fusion of all the elements of the picture."

No other single French writer exercised an influence upon James comparable to that of Balzac. When James settled in Paris in 1875,

he made the acquaintance of Flaubert, Maupassant, Daudet, and the brothers Goncourt, but he did not find them congenial. "I have seen almost nothing of the literary fraternity," he wrote to William Dean Howells in May, 1876, "and there are fifty reasons why I should not become intimate with them. I don't like their wares and they don't like any others. . . ."<sup>19</sup> At the end of July he wrote to his brother William that his last layers of resistance to a long encroaching weariness and satiety with the French mind and its utterance had fallen from him like a garment. "I have done with 'em forever," he wrote, "and am turning English all over."<sup>20</sup>

This distaste for France was not, however, permanent. By 1884, after eight years in England, he was ready to reverse this judgment. In that year he visited Paris and met the French writers again. "Seeing these people," he wrote to his brother, "does me a world of good, and this intellectual vivacity and *raffinement* make an English mind seem like a sort of glue-pot."<sup>21</sup> He put his feelings in more detail and at greater length in a letter to Howells:

I have been seeing something of Daudet, Goncourt and Zola; and there is nothing more interesting to me now than the effort and experiment of this little group, with its truly infernal intelligence of art, form, manner—its intense artistic life. They do the only kind of work, today, that I respect; and in spite of their ferocious pessimism and their handling of unclean things, they are at least serious and honest. The floods of tepid soap and water which under the name of novels are being vomited forth in England, seem to me, by contrast, to do little honor to our race. I say this to you, because I regard you as the great American naturalist. I don't think you go far enough, and you are haunted with romantic phantoms and a tendency to factitious glosses, but you are in the right path, and I wish you repeated triumphs there. . . . It isn't for me to reproach you with that, however, the said glosses being a constant defect of my characters; they have too much of it, too damnably much. But I am a failure!—comparatively. Read Zola's last thing: *La Joie de Vivre*. This title of course has a desperate irony: but the work is admirably solid and serious. . . .<sup>22</sup>

This letter has the fervor of discipleship, and James's advice to Howells and his comparison of himself with Zola seem to indicate that at this time James was a convert to the creed of naturalism. But

<sup>19</sup> *Letters*, I, 49.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 103.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 51.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 105.

such an isolated expression of opinion does not constitute adequate support for any such hypothesis. Is there any other evidence that in the mid-eighties James passed through a naturalistic phase?

There is a certain amount of evidence in an article on Daudet published in 1882,<sup>23</sup> where he speaks with approval of the naturalist practice of note-taking, and reproves Daudet for relying too much upon his imagination rather than upon direct observation of the actual facts. But by far the strongest piece of evidence is the novel upon which James was engaged at this time. Many critics have noticed the uniqueness of *The Princess Casamassima* among the novels of James, especially the early chapters of that book. "*The Princess Casamassima*," writes Edmund Wilson, "with its prison and its revolutionary exiles in London, deals with issues and social contrasts of a kind that James had never before attempted."<sup>24</sup> Its uniqueness, in my view, is to be explained by the fact that James had temporarily come under the sway of Zola and naturalism. In the early chapters we are treated to a carefully documented account of a London slum, culminating in a visit to a dying prostitute in prison for the murder of her aristocratic lover. This is clearly not orthodox Henry James material, but it is orthodox Zola material. Nor is the similarity to naturalism confined to the material; much of the treatment is in accordance with the naturalist creed. Much is made of the influence of heredity and environment upon Hyacinth, the central character. Millicent Henning is the type of the lower-class, animal, strongly sexed young female so dear to Zola, and is quite unlike the reflective heroines of the usual Jamesian novels. There is much more straight reporting than usual, a greater proportion of the objective than the subjective. But James seems to have grown conscious of his inability to follow Zola closely, and as the novel proceeds it grows more like the traditional James.

The influence of Zola, if we are right in assuming an influence at this stage, was a transient one. In the article on Zola which James wrote in 1903<sup>25</sup> there is none of the consciousness of a debt owed that is found in the articles on Balzac written at the same period. The criticism of Zola which James advances is that he was incapable of dealing with the individual life, except in coarse and common

<sup>23</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIX, 846-851 (June, 1882).

<sup>24</sup> *The Triple Thinkers: Ten Essays on Literature* (New York, 1938), p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XCII, 193-210 (Aug., 1903).

terms. His addiction to documents allows him to get near to the life of the crowd, but it perpetually delays access to the private world, the world of the individual. The result is that his mastery is confined to the shallow and the simple. This is the mature James speaking, the James who has abandoned the effort at social history to lavish his talent upon the subtleties of individual psychology.

The ten years following the publication of *The Princess Casamassima* in 1886 were for James a period of transition. With the exception of *The Tragic Muse* (1890), he produced only short stories, plays, and critical essays. Henceforth James was to develop independently to a great degree, evolving the technique of the later novels, which bear his individual stamp. There is evidence, however, that in this evolution he was guided by Guy de Maupassant.

It is evident from his essay on Maupassant, written in 1888, that that writer burst upon him like a revelation.<sup>26</sup> Much of the essay is devoted to the Preface to *Pierre et Jean*, and James selects for particular discussion the passages with a bearing on his own work. James had been trying to be the American Balzac, then to follow Zola: Maupassant declared that all we can ask is that the author make something fine in the form that suits him best. He notices with approval Maupassant's emphasis upon selection rather than upon the catalogue.

The qualities which James noted with approval in the work of Maupassant are the qualities which characterize his own later work. He ceased to emulate Balzac and Zola, and devoted himself to the form which suited him best—the study of individual psychology. For the evocation of the material environment of his characters he relied upon selection rather than upon the catalogue. A word which he had used to describe Maupassant's art was "hard," and he set himself to emulate this hardness. "Art," he wrote to A. C. Benson in 1895, "should be as hard as nails."<sup>27</sup> Most significant of all, he confined himself almost exclusively for ten years to the *nouvelle*, the form in which Maupassant's greatest successes were achieved. For the relative discursiveness of his earlier novels he substituted a strict economy. His ideal henceforth was, in his own words, "to put all that is possible of one's idea into a form and compass that will

<sup>26</sup> *Partial Portraits*—"Guy de Maupassant."

<sup>27</sup> *Henry James: Letters to A. C. Benson and Auguste Monod* (London and New York, 1930), p. 97.

contain and express it only by delicate adjustments and an exquisite chemistry, so that there will be at the end neither a drop of one's liquor left nor a hair's breadth of the rim of one's glass to spare."<sup>28</sup>

The production of this period which is usually considered the finest is *The Spoils of Poynton* (1896). Here it is evident that James has moved far from his earlier masters, Balzac and Zola. In the preface James tells us that he had originally envisaged a treatment of this story in which the "spoils" themselves would have been extensively treated, in the manner of Balzac. When he actually wrote the story, he was content merely to suggest the vague splendor of the spoils, and to select one item—the Maltese cross—as representative of the beauty and rarity of the whole. The center of interest was not the spoils, but their effect upon the minds of his characters—"the passions, the faculties, the forces their beauty . . . would set in motion." He records a similar change of attitude toward the naturalists' worship of Fact:

There had been but ten words, yet I had recognizes in them . . . all the possibilities of my little drama of my "Spoils" . . . ; so that when in the next breath I began to hear of action taken . . . I saw clumsy Life again at her stupid work. For the action taken . . . I had absolutely . . . no scrap of use. . . . I had once more the full demonstration of the fatal futility of Fact. . . . [The artist] has to borrow his motive, which is certainly half the battle; and this motive is his ground, his site and his foundation. But after that he only lends and gives, only builds and piles high, lays together the blocks quarried in the deeps of his imagination and on his personal premises.<sup>29</sup>

This was his final answer to the laborious documentation of Zola, and marks the extent of his development during these ten years.

The three great novels which James produced in the early years of the twentieth century—*The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904)—are the fruit of the application, on a larger scale, of the technique developed in the *Spoils*. The realistic care for detail finds its outlet in the psychological rather than the physical sphere. Action is relatively thin, and "reaction" is the center of interest. They are triumphs of formal economy, from which the loose end, the superfluous of every kind, has been ruthlessly eliminated. The characteristic qualities of this mature art are an individual style and a technical mastery which

<sup>28</sup> Preface to *The Tragic Muse* (New York ed.), p. xiii.

<sup>29</sup> Preface to *The Spoils of Poynton* (New York ed.), pp. vii-viii.

displays itself most impressively in the handling of the restricted point of view. These qualities are in a large measure peculiar to James, but there are grounds for believing that French models were not without their influence in developing them.

The history of the development of the style of Henry James is the history of a growing complexity. In its final form it is distinguished by three predominant qualities: its richness of imagery, its plethora of subordinate clauses and adverbs, and its long rhythms. It is in this sphere that the influence of Flaubert seems to have been operative. There is no doubt at all that James was immensely impressed by Flaubert's artistic conscience, by his intense care in the choice of words and phrases and rhythms; everything which James ever wrote about Flaubert testifies to this. But the relationship is closer than mere general admiration. "This quest and multiplication of the image," James wrote of Flaubert, "was accordingly his high elegance."<sup>30</sup> Is it not also the high elegance of the style of Henry James? Is not the clue to James's later style to be found in this "quest and multiplication of the image" together with a restless search for the "mot juste"? An examination of any one of James's later paragraphs will reveal this search, conducted so earnestly that the sentences seem often interminable. The styles of Flaubert and James have also in common their adverbial richness and their long rhythms. It may seem strange to assert that James, like Flaubert, was seeking in his prose to reproduce the rhythms of speech, but if his prose is read it will be found to echo the rhythms of cultured conversation. Often indeed James's sentences become intelligible only when read aloud, allowing the speaking voice to distribute the pauses and emphases.

Flaubert's influence upon James was almost wholly a stylistic one. With the exception of *Madame Bovary*, he found Flaubert's novels uncongenial. "There is life, there is blood in considerable measure in *Madame Bovary*," he wrote, "but the last word about its successors can only be, it seems to me, that they are splendidly and infinitely curious."<sup>31</sup> Yet there is one other point at which Flaubert may have exercised an influence upon James, and that is in the development of the technique known as the restricted point of view. It is surprising that more efforts have not been made to trace the

<sup>30</sup> *Notes on Novelists*—"Flaubert," p. 79.

<sup>31</sup> *Essays in London*—"Gustave Flaubert," p. 133.

origin of this technique. J. W. Beach alone has attempted such a task,<sup>32</sup> and has advanced two suggestions: that it may have been an outcome of his reading of Stevenson, who uses the common romantic device of the single narrator, or of his ten years' devotion to the short story, a form in which the restricted point of view is natural and common. Both these factors may have been operative, but they seem inadequate. It is surely significant that the closest parallels with the technique as James employed it are to be found in the novels of Flaubert and Maupassant. The center of interest in both *Madame Bovary* and *L'Education sentimentale* is the consciousness of the central character, and it is clear from James's essay on Flaubert in 1902 that he was aware of this; he reproached Flaubert, however, for having chosen as his central characters persons too slight to bear such a load. He approved of the technical device, but for his own work he preferred to use characters more richly endowed with sensibility. The reason for this preference he has clearly stated: ". . . the figures in any picture, the agents in any drama, are interesting only in proportion as they feel their respective situations; since the consciousness, on their part, of the complication exhibited forms for us their link of connexion with it."<sup>33</sup>

The closest parallels with the technique as James uses it are to be found in Maupassant rather than in Flaubert. There are in the novels of James two varieties of the restricted point of view. Sometimes, as in *The Ambassadors*, the whole story is presented from the point of view of one of the characters; at other times, as in *The Wings of the Dove*, there is an alternating point of view, one portion of the story being presented from the point of view of one character, another portion from the point of view of another. Both these varieties are also found in the work of Maupassant. *Une Vie* is presented wholly from the point of view of Jeanne; in *Pierre et Jean* and in *Fort comme le mort* the story is alternately presented from the point of view of each of the brothers, in the former novel, and of each of the lovers, in the latter novel.

Whether or not James was directly indebted to the example of Flaubert and Maupassant for this technique, there is no question that his use of it is a token of his affinity with the methods and ideals of nineteenth-century French fiction. As early as 1875 James

<sup>32</sup> *The Method of Henry James* (New Haven and London, 1918).

<sup>33</sup> Preface to *The Princess Casamassima* (New York ed.), pp. vii-viii.



spoke with admiration of "the French theory of centralization."<sup>34</sup> Throughout his criticism of French novelists runs this theme of admiration for their centrality of focus and unity of effect. James's motive in employing the restricted point of view was precisely to achieve this centrality and unity in his own work. He himself has made this clear:

He [Cristopher Newman, in *The American*] therefore supremely matters; all the rest matters only as he feels it, treats it, meets it. A beautiful infatuation this, always, I think, the intensity of the creative effort to get into the skin of the creature; the act of personal possession of one being by another at its completest—and with the high enhancement, ever, that it is, by the same stroke, the effort of the artist to preserve for his subject that unity, and for his use of it . . . that effect of a *centre*, which most economise its value.<sup>35</sup>

It remains to speak of two general resemblances between the novels of Henry James and those of the French realists. First, the matter of plot. James fully accepted the realistic dictum that an elaborate plot is unnecessary in a novel. As early as 1874, when the novels of the "sensational school" were appearing in England, James wrote disdainfully of George Eliot's "weakness for a rounded plot."<sup>36</sup> In his essay on "The Art of Fiction," in *Partial Portraits*, he argues that the primary object of the novel is to represent life and that in that representation hairbreadth escapes, mysterious bequests, and fortunate coincidences have no place.

The other general resemblance which I wish to mention is that James, like the French realists, held before himself the ideal of objectivity, of eliminating from his novels his personal prejudices and preferences. As we have seen, he reproached Thackeray for deliberately exposing his characters rather than giving them their full value and freedom as did Balzac. There is in James no classification into sheep and goats; there is not even that intense sympathy with suffering humanity which tempers the objectivity of his English contemporaries like Hardy and Gissing. "Art should be as hard as nails," he wrote to A. C. Benson, "as hard as the heart of the artist, who, *qua* artist, is an absolutely Roman father." Even lyrical poetry should be "hard and detached and impersonal—stony-hearted triumphs of objective form." He spoke of reducing everything to

<sup>34</sup> *French Poets and Novelists*—"Balzac," p. 93.

<sup>35</sup> Preface, p. xxi.

<sup>36</sup> *Partial Portraits*—"George Eliot," p. 53.

a "figured objectivity."<sup>87</sup> This "figured objectivity" he achieves in his own work. Never does he utter a word of sympathy or of condemnation; he expends all his powers upon rendering, leaving the reader to pass sentence.

If our conclusions are correct, Henry James owed much to his French contemporaries. Balzac largely determined the character of his productions during his first twelve years as a writer, and continued to exercise a strong influence during the remainder of his career. The influence of Zola was brief, playing a large part only in one novel. Maupassant inculcated ideals of economy and selection, and may have played a part in the development of the restricted point of view. Flaubert contributed much to James's mature style. From them all, James derived a lasting interest in technique, especially in techniques designed to give centrality of focus and unity of effect; he learnt from them also that plot is relatively unimportant, and that the artist should, as far as possible, exclude himself from his art. But he differed from them all in his greater interest in the mind and soul of the individual. He assimilated their lessons in technique, but put them to his own uses.

<sup>87</sup> *Letters to A. C. Benson and Auguste Monod*, pp. 7, 14.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### MARK TWAIN AS TRANSLATOR FROM THE GERMAN

DIXON WECTER

*University of California at Los Angeles*

MARK TWAIN'S use of German was more fluent than accurate. On the eve of his first trip to Germany, in the spring of 1878, he began vigorously to learn that tongue, hired a German nurse for his children, and soon was finding the language so comic that he thought of having Captain Wakeman (Stormfield) in Heaven ensnared in the Laokoon of German syntax.<sup>1</sup> Soon, it appears, he began to speak and write a German of sorts—or a piquant blend of German and English—helped by his innate gift of the gab, that Western relish for sonorous idiom that underlay his love of declamation and profanity. The endless sentences and mouth-filling compounds in German struck him as inexhaustibly funny. The Teutonic language was a joke that never palled for this innocent abroad. In 1878 he wrote polyglot letters from Heidelberg to Bayard Taylor, full of Anglo-German atrocities.<sup>2</sup> In 1887, for a German study class that met in the Clemens home in Hartford, he wrote a three-act play called *Meisterschaft*, about the struggles of beginning German.<sup>3</sup> Later, before the Vienna Press Club on November 21, 1897, Twain delivered his speech "Die Schrecken der Deutschen Sprache," in comic German, asking the arbiters of the language to ban parentheses and the introduction of more than thirteen subjects to the sentence—averring, "Ich bin ja der treuste

<sup>1</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York and London, 1912), II, 616.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Schultz, "New Letters of Mark Twain," *American Literature*, VIII, 47-51 (March, 1936).

<sup>3</sup> Given twice by the class with great success, and later published in the *Century* (Jan., 1888) and in the volume *Merry Tales* (New York, 1892). The original MS, now in the Huntington Library (HM 11610), contains the following unpublished note—addressed probably to a printer in the house of Charles Webster & Company—ordering a trial impression unknown to bibliographers of Mark Twain:

Hartford, Aug. 8, /87.

Dear Van:

Please set me this up, & after you have got your proof as clean as you can, send me a

Freund der deutschen Sprache."<sup>4</sup> A few months later, in Vienna in 1898, he wrote out the anecdote called "Beauties of the German Language," about compound words; and in March, 1899, still in Central Europe, he made two more short speeches on the drollery of the language.<sup>5</sup> A recent monograph by Dr. Edgar H. Hemminghaus, in tracing the curve of Mark Twain's reputation in Germany, has recalled the difficulty of rendering his puns and peculiarly American humor into German.<sup>6</sup> But no special attention has been paid hitherto to Mark Twain's attempt to turn some famous German jingles into English, and a preface he wrote for this little volume has not been published up to the present time.

In 1935, the centenary of the humorist's birth, Harper and Brothers published for children and for Mark Twain collectors a slender book called *Slovenly Peter / (Struwwelpeter) / or / Happy Tales and Funny Pictures / Freely Translated / By / Mark Twain. / With Dr. Hoffmann's Illustrations, Adapted from / the Rare First Edition, by Fritz Kredel*. It is based of course upon the familiar rhymes first published in 1842 by the physician Heinrich Hoffmann. The Preface to this volume, by Clara Clemens Gabrilowitsch, states that her father made these translations in Berlin "that winter [1891]," where, following "financial losses," the Clemens family had taken a dismal flat; that Mark Twain kept up his spirits by rendering these rhymes of rebellious children, whose defiant spirit was not

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proof & I will correct it & return it to you, & ask you to strike off two or three perfected copies for me to forward to the "Century."

You needn't put in any small-caps or italics *anywhere*. I'll fix all that anew before publication in the Century.

Keep the thing private. Don't let it get out of your hands.

Yrs truly  
S L CLEMENS

Return the MS to me to read proof by.

On p. 14-E of this MS appears this explicit message signed "S L C":

*Private:*

Van, those "für's" are fur with dots over the u: *für*.

See Dr. Ada M. Klett, "Meisterschaft, or the True State of Mark Twain's German," *American-German Review*, VII, 10-11 (Dec. 1940), finds evidence that the manuscript underwent correction "by some more or less competent hand" before publication, with the suppression of Twain's most howling mistakes.

<sup>4</sup> *Mark Twain's Speeches* (New York and London, 1910), pp. 42-51.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54 and 55; and Mark Twain's *Autobiography*, ed. A. B. Paine (New York and London, 1924), I, 164-166.

<sup>6</sup> *Mark Twain in Germany* (New York, 1939). Cf. Ulrich Steindorff, "Mark Twain's Broad German Grin," *New York Times*, July 13, 1924, and Stuart Robertson, "Mark Twain in German," *Mark Twain Quarterly*, II, 10-12 (Fall, 1937).

unlike his own; but that soon after their occupation of this flat he was called to America, where he found the financial outlook brighter, and "a month or two later" before returning to Germany in time for Christmas he cabled his family to move to better quarters. This account of Clemens's activities does not square with that given by Albert Bigelow Paine.<sup>7</sup> Since the former is a girlhood memory from the age of seventeen, and the latter a narrative supported by dated letters, one is prone to accept Paine as more trustworthy. According to Paine, an "attractive, roomy place" had been engaged by Mrs. Clemens in October, 1891, before her husband and three young daughters reached Berlin. Upon their arrival, and in the clear light of day, the neighborhood of No. 7 Körnerstrasse was found to be frowsy and not very quiet. Making a wry joke of their address among socially critical friends, the Clemenses weathered it out until the end of December, 1891; then, after paying the rest of their year's rent, they vacated the flat and moved to the Hotel Royal, Unter den Linden. Mark Twain indeed was none too prosperous, with the disaster of the Paige typesetting machine just breaking upon him, but he did not sail for a brief visit to America until mid-June, 1892, more than three months after they had quitted Berlin for the South of France. Mark Twain's own preface, it will be seen, is dated "Berlin, October, 1891," and must certainly have been written soon after his arrival from Lausanne in that month.

The manuscript of these translations, comprising twenty-six pages wholly in Mark Twain's hand, was sold in December, 1912, by a Boston bookseller to the late Willard S. Morse, Twain collector and bibliographer.<sup>8</sup> Morse submitted his purchase to Albert Bigelow Paine, who confessed that he had never heard of its existence, and called it a "unique item." To C. W. Fisk on December 17, 1912, Paine wrote:

"Struwel Peter" was a favorite of M. T.'s & I am not surprised to know that he translated it . . . M. T. translated a good many such things for German practice—Mary's Little Lamb (into German) etc. I did not consider the items important enough to mention, though I did not *know* of "Peter"—

<sup>7</sup> *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 929-948.

<sup>8</sup> It came to him from the papers of Mr. William Cushing Brambury, who did not know just how or when his father had acquired it. This MS and the correspondence relating to it are now in the possession of Mrs. Willard S. Morse, Santa Monica, Calif., to whose kindness I am indebted for the quotations that follow.

A few months later, on May 1, 1913, Paine wrote to the new owner of the manuscript:

My opinion is that Mr. Clemens began it, expecting to print it, but by the time he had finished it he had realized that he had departed too far from the original for that; had burlesqued it too much, perhaps, and so gave it as a literary curiosity to some friend.

Confident that he possessed an item of great rarity, Mr. Morse applied to Harper for permission to print a limited edition, but the request was denied. Nevertheless, in March, 1915, he had twenty-five copies privately printed, but did not circulate them and apparently mislaid the entire lot.<sup>9</sup> But since the manuscript has remained untouched and apparently unseen among Mr. Morse's papers, in the many years following his death, it seems clear that one of these copies was recovered and served as the text for Mrs. Gabrilowitsch's edition. Missing from her volume is the following preface found in the Morse manuscript:<sup>10</sup>

#### Introduction.

*Struwelpeter* is the best known book in Germany, & has the largest sale known to the book trade, & the widest circulation. For nearly fifty years it has had its home in every German nursery. No man can divine just where its mysterious fascination lies, perhaps, but that it *has* a peculiar & powerful fascination for children is a fact that was settled long ago.

The book was not an intention—it was an accident. Dr. Hoffmann had among his child-patients some who raised war when he tried to insert the formidable medicines of the olden time into them; & to pacify them he used to snatch a pencil & dash off an absurd picture & a verse or two of descriptive doggerel & win a quick peace with them. These things accumulated on his hands & one day he pasted them together & made a Christmas book for his little son out of them. Grown people were taken with it, & persuaded him to publish it. The result astonished him; the book swept the country like a prairie fire—swept Europe, in fact, for it

<sup>9</sup> Willard S. Morse to Ulrich Steindorff, Oct. 2, 1924. Merle Johnson, *A Bibliography of the Works of Mark Twain*, New York and London, 1935, p. 110, states that these were photostats with a printed title page, and comprised "ten or so copies." The existence of a photostat of the manuscript among Morse's papers leads me to believe that his "edition" may have been in the form of photostats rather than a transcribed and printed text; but his statement that there were twenty-five copies is probably more trustworthy than the rather vague recall of Morse's agent whom Mr. Johnson interviewed.

<sup>10</sup> I find that the three last sentences of this preface are quoted by Merle Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 110, from a privately printed edition issued in August, 1935, for the Limited Editions Club. This edition, which I have been unable to see, may print the entire preface as here given.

was soon translated into the principal languages of the continent, & achieved popularity every where.

It was Dr. Hoffmann's opinion that the charm of the book lay not in the subjects or the pictures, but wholly in the jingle. That may be true, for rhymes that jingle felicitously are very dear to a child's ear. In this translation I have done my best to fetch the jingle along.

Mark Twain

Berlin, October, 1891.

The translations which follow are indeed free. The original is "seen darkly, as through a glass eye," as Mark Twain observed in another connection. But the result is an increase of vigor. A trivial though typical example may be taken from the story of Ugly Frederick—a lad who, in the tradition of Hogarth's "Progress of Cruelty," caught flies and dismembered them ("made hoppers of them, minus wings," as Mark Twain phrases it). The climax of his violence,

Und höre nur wie böß er war:  
Er peitschte seine Gretchen gar!

which is rendered by the best-known English translation, issued by John C. Winston, as

And oh! far worse and worse  
He whipp'd his good and gentle nurse!

appears in Mark Twain as

And worst of all that he did do,  
He banged the housemaid black and blue.

Cruel to a dog, Frederick is deservedly bitten and packed off to bed to take bitter medicine, while the dog inherits the miscreant's supper. Four lines in the German text and in more literal translations<sup>10</sup> are required to tell this last act, but Mark Twain expands them into sixteen, with a footnote attached to his worst couplet—

The dog's his heir, and this estate  
That dog inherits, and will ate.##

# My child, never use an expression like that. It is utterly unprincipled

<sup>10</sup> As in the translation of *Struwwelpeter* by Annis Lee Furness, bearing the subtitle *The Pictures and Verses as Remembered by the Children of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, n.d.). Her father, the Reverend William Henry Furness, gave a copy of her translation to his old friend and classmate Emerson, for Emerson's children, who years later, after the original was lost, reconstructed it from memory. In this passage, and elsewhere, it follows the German more timidly than does Twain.

& outrageous to say ate when you mean eat, & you must never do it except when crowded for a rhyme. As you grow up you will find that poetry is a sandy road to travel, & the only way to pull through at all is to lay your grammar down & take hold with both hands. *M. T.*

Current allusions are plentiful, as in the tale of three Nordic boys who deride a miserable Moor:

The three they laugh and scoff and wink,  
And mock at that poor Missing Link,  
Because his skin is black as ink.

The original, needless to say, has no such Darwinian inflection of phrase—in telling a story of retribution that Nazis might well ponder today. In the “Story of the Thumb-Sucker” Mark Twain improves upon the description of Konrad’s pain when his thumb is sheared off by the tailor, “Hei! Da schreit der Konrad sehr”:

While that lad his tongue unfurled  
And fired a yell heard ’round the world.

The vivacity of Mark Twain’s version shows clearly in “The History of Hanns Stare-in-the-Air.” In “Die Geschichte vom Hanns Guck-in-die-Luft” we read:

Einst ging er an Ufers Rand  
Mit der Mappe in der Hand.  
Nach dem blauen Himmel hoch  
Sah er, wo die Schwalbe flog,  
Also dass er kerzengrad  
Immer mehr zum Flusse trat.  
Und die Fischlein in der Reih’  
Sind erstaunt sehr, alle drei.

The version remembered by Ralph Waldo Emerson’s children runs, with less color than the original—

Johnny took up his satchel one day  
And off to school he walked away.  
Which way he was going he didn’t think,  
And it brought him down to the river’s brink.  
Three little fishes at him did stare  
Wondering much what brought him there.



Vastly more spirited is Mark Twain:

Once he snooped along the strand  
 With his atlas in his hand,  
 And his pug-nose tilted back  
 So he could watch the swallow's track,  
 And never got it through his gourd  
 That he was walking overboard,  
 Although the fishes, frightened, shout,  
 "We three are orphans, please look out!"

Strongly stamped with the individuality of Mark Twain, *Slovenly Peter* offers the rare spectacle of the humorist turning his hand to verse. I am informed by sellers of children's books and attendants in children's rooms of public libraries that, in the six years since its publication, their young patrons in general have preferred the older, more conventional Winston translation to Mark Twain's *Struwwelpeter*. Perhaps they are more innately conservative than was Mark Twain himself.

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BRET HARTE UPON MARK TWAIN IN 1866

GEORGE R. STEWART  
*University of California*

IN THE Springfield (Massachusetts) *Daily Republican* for November 10, 1866, appeared a paragraph of literary news under the heading *From California*:

Samuel Clemens, better known as "Mark Twain," the Honolulu correspondent of the Sacramento Union, took advantage of the queen's visit to deliver a most entertaining lecture upon the Sandwich Islands. He had a crowded house and a brilliant success, and in this initial effort at once established his reputation as an eccentric lecturer whose humor surpassed Artemus Ward's with the advantage of being of a more legitimate quality. He had already acquired, here and abroad, considerable fame as an original and broadly humorous writer, but he took his audience by storm. He intends repeating the lecture through the state and is urged by his friends to extend his tour even to the East. His humor is peculiar to himself; if of any type, it is rather of the western character of ludicrous exaggeration and audacious statement, which perhaps is more thoroughly national and American than even the Yankee delineations of Lowell. His humor has more motive than that of Artemus Ward; he is something of

a satirist, although his satire is not always subtle or refined. He has shrewdness and a certain hearty abhorrence [*sic*] of shams which will make his faculty serviceable to mankind. His talent is so well based that he can write seriously and well when he chooses, which is perhaps the best test of true humor. His faults are crudeness, coarseness, and an occasional Panurge-like plainness of statement. I am particular in these details, for I believe he deserves this space and criticism, and I think I recognize a new star rising in this western horizon.

This paragraph (written under the date line: San Francisco, October 9, 1866) was the conclusion of the eleventh and last letter of a series which had appeared in the *Republican* at irregular intervals since May 12, 1866. These letters were headed *From California* or *From San Francisco*, and *From Our Special Correspondent*; they were signed *F. B. H.* The inclusion of some of these letters as clippings among the materials preserved by Harte's niece, Mrs. Samuel J. Taylor of Berkeley, California, makes certain the identification of the initials as those of Francis Bret Harte.

The passage is in itself so clear as to call for little comment. "The queen's visit" refers to the visit of Queen Emma of the Hawaiian Islands, some details of which had been described in the preceding paragraph. The "most entertaining" lecture was Twain's famous appearance in San Francisco on October 2, 1866.

Harte's criticisms are remarkable, and point out qualities of Twain's mind which were not generally recognized until many years later—his hatred of shams and his ability at serious writing. The recognition at such an early date of "a new star" is also noteworthy.

In view of the later disastrous quarrel between the two men the passage is of interest as showing the good-fellowship which once existed. Twain owed some debts to Harte, as well as vice versa. In this generous, unforced, and virtually anonymous praise of a rival, *Our Special Correspondent* is very far from being that selfish and vicious cad whom Twain in his irresponsible autobiographical meanderings has set up as the essential Bret Harte.

COOPER AND THE AMERICAN COPYRIGHT CLUB:  
AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

JOHN A. KOUWENHOVEN

*Bennington College*

THE FOLLOWING letter is preserved among the Duyckinck manuscripts in the New York Public Library.<sup>1</sup> It has not, I believe, hitherto been printed. Since Cooper was almost the only American author to refuse membership in the Club, this note has interest as a concise statement of his attitude.

Sir,

Globe. Sept. 25<sup>th</sup> 1843

Your letter, I found at this house, on my late return from Philadelphia. The delay in the answer you will have the goodness to ascribe to this cause.

I am of opinion that this country, in common with all other countries, is bound to protect literary property, on principles connected with common honesty. To me, the policy of England, on this subject, is matter of indifference, it being our duty to act right, though England act wrong.

I also think that expediency goes hand and hand in this particular matter with the right. Unless we have a copy right law, there will be no such thing as American Literature, in a year or two. At present very few writers are left. With a copy right law; we shall have not only a literature of our own, but literature of an improved quality.

These are my views, though a determination not to mingle with any thing in the country more than I can help, must prevent me from accepting the honour you have done me. I beg you to communicate to the club that I would cheerfully join them did I join anything, but an issue has been raised that induces me to stand aloof. I ask nothing from the American Public, and I owe them nothing. I wish to keep the account square. I am certain the tax-gatherers will not overlook me, and this will be sure to keep me up to the discharge of all my duties as a citizen. Beyond this I feel reluctant to go.

I remain, yours

With much respect,

Sir,

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

Cornelius Matthews, Esquire  
Cor. Sect. Copy Right Club

<sup>1</sup> Duyckinck Collection, Manuscript Room of NYPL, No. 14999 in Part 1, Vol. II, of an extra-illustrated set of the Duyckinck *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Social and Economic Views of William Ellery Channing (1780-1842). Robert Jay Platt (New York).

A Study of the Works of Ellen Glasgow. Blair Rouse (Illinois).

Life and Works of George W. Harris. Donald Day (Chicago).

Thomas Sergeant Perry. Virginia Harlow (Duke).

Poe and Science. Carroll Dee Laverty (Duke).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

American Song Books in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century. George S. Jackson (Columbia).

The Function of Wagner's Theory of the Union of the Arts in the Development of the American Theater: 1905-1928. Sister M. Vincentia Burns (Pennsylvania).

*Graham's Magazine*: A Study in American Periodical Writing. J. Albert Robbins (Pennsylvania).

The *Nation* of New York. Ronald Bernard (Columbia).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Descent on Democracy: A Study of American Democracy as Observed by British Travelers, 1815-1860. William Emerson Chace (North Carolina, History, 1941).

Economic Individualism in the American Novel from 1865 to 1888. John Hollenbach (Wisconsin, 1941).

Folk Songs of Florida and Their Cultural Background. Alton Chester Morris (North Carolina, 1941).

George Ripley, Social and Literary Critic. Howard A. Wilson (Wisconsin, 1941).

The Growth of the Mind and Art of Lafcadio Hearn. Felix Morrison (Wisconsin, 1941).

Helen Hunt Jackson in Relation to Her Times. Minerva Louise Martin (Louisiana State, 1941).

A History of Literary Periodicals in Baltimore. W. Bird Terwilliger (Maryland, 1941).

The Idea of the Kingdom of God as Reflected in the American Social Gospel Movement, 1865-1917. Oscar W. Lever (Duke, Philosophy of Religion, 1941).

The Life and Works of William Preston Johnston. A. Marvin Shaw, Jr. (Louisiana State, 1941).

Margaret Fuller's Criticism: Theory and Practice. Roland C. Burton (Iowa, 1941).

Mark Twain's Literary Development. Edgar M. Branch (Iowa, 1941).

Mark Twain's Theories of Morality. Frank C. Flowers (Louisiana State, 1941).

The Negro in Dramatic Literature. Helen D. Troesch (Western Reserve, Dramatic Literature, 1941).

Public Lectures in New York, 1851-1878. Robert J. Greef (Chicago, 1941).

Die Romanteknik von William Dean Howells. Susanne Königsberger (Berlin, 1932).

Studies in Texas Folk Song. William Owens (Iowa, 1941).

Tennyson in America: His Reputation and Influence from 1827 to 1858. John Olin Eidson (Duke, 1941).

Transcendental Activity in the Dissemination of Culture in America, 1830-1860. John Byron Wilson (North Carolina, 1941.)

The Vogue and Influence of Samuel Richardson in America: A Study of Cultural Conventions, 1742-1825. Reginald E. Waters (Wisconsin, 1941).

#### IV. DISSERTATION TOPIC DROPPED:

A Literary Map of the United States. Lulu Daniels (Iowa).

#### V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Joseph Jones (English Department, University of Texas) is well advanced on an edition of the writings of Josh Billings.

Miss Alma Josenhans, of the Music and Drama Department of the Detroit Public Library, is at work on a history of the theater in Detroit. She has already covered a large part of the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth, but the work is not yet ready for publication.

Professor Benjamin T. Spencer (Ohio Wesleyan) has under way a history of the movement for a national literature from colonial times to the present.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

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#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1943, a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

## BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN FICTION: 1920-1940. By Joseph Warren Beach. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1941. 371 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Beach's latest volume is a welcome and valuable treatise upon the novels of Dos Passos, Hemingway, Faulkner, Wolfe, Caldwell, Farrell, Marquand, and Steinbeck. Besides treating separately the writings of each, the volume also offers introductory and concluding sections upon the significance of the work of these men taken as a whole. The judgments are almost everywhere sound, and the book is a readable and useful addition to the library of contemporary criticism.

Any writer of criticism is inevitably caught in the dilemma of either writing for the specialist and so advancing the field of criticism or else writing for the general reader and so diffusing already more or less established opinions. In earlier books Mr. Beach has frequently done the former; in this present one he is concerned chiefly with the latter. According to his opening sentence: "This book is written at the request of a friend who is a wide reader in many fields, but would like to know more about American fiction in our time." The author gives as his intention: "to make clear to the general reader what there is about each one [of these novelists] that gives him a particular claim to our interest and attention" (p. 1), and to analyze the novelists' themes, social attitudes, and literary methods.

Ordinarily that unnamed "friend" who suggests the writing of a book need not be taken very seriously, but in this instance I think that he had a real existence and a considerable influence. Mr. Beach admires his novelists almost excessively, but he seems constantly to be writing for and arguing against some elderly and conservative person who objects to what "these young fellows" (p. 12) are writing. (Incidentally, shouldn't we get over calling most of these novelists young? Certainly, no one who fought in the World War before this one is still young, unless this is a country of the senile.) The argumentative attitude is somewhat unfortunate. Perhaps it is responsible for the way in which the author conjures up all kinds of readers who are assumed to be thinking thus and thus strangely about the various novels; not only do we have "the reader," but also "the general reader," "the bourgeois reader," "the average 'bourgeois' reader," "the earnest 'bourgeois' reader," "the soft reader," "the naïve reader," and "the inexperienced and unimaginative reader."

As I have mentioned, however, Mr. Beach himself admires all "these young fellows" greatly, although not uncritically. What he says about

them is generally sound—which is to say, I suppose, only that the present reviewer thinks the same. To be sure, there are points about which he would be glad to argue, e.g., the dismissal of *In Dubious Battle* as “a hole-in-the-corner thing” (p. 330), and the high place assigned to the writings of Mr. Faulkner.

In his eulogies of Mr. Faulkner, Mr. Beach seems occasionally to be praising something which really confuses and bores him. At least, he produces here his only sentence which sounds as if he were defending an orthodoxy rather than preaching an evangel: “The danger here is that too much attention to his lapses may cause us to doubt for a moment the genuineness and high order of his genius” (p. 153). Sometimes Mr. Beach seems to be arguing that Mr. Faulkner’s trees are hideous, but his forest is magnificent. But perhaps this is possible.

With Mr. Marquand the situation is largely reversed. Mr. Beach obviously enjoys with great gusto the satiric New England novels, but seems to have doubts about praising them. It is, I suppose, the old feeling of most of us that comedy is a slighter thing than tragedy—or camouflaged melodrama. In one paragraph (pp. 267-268) Mr. Beach includes his only apology for one of his novelists, and scarcely escapes condescending to the creator of Mr. Moto. A doubt about Mr. Marquand is also shown quantitatively by the granting to him of only one chapter in contrast to the two chapters to each of the others.

In several passages, notably a discussion of Mr. Hemingway’s “fourth” and “fifth” dimensions, Mr. Beach extends the field of modern critical thought. More commonly he is content to introduce to the reader (bourgeois, naïve, earnest, or what you will) the eight novelists of his choice, and an excellent and informing introduction it is. For the professional student of American literature the book is a review and summing up of much which he has already read, heard, and thought; it is also sometimes a stimulus to new ideas and a presentation of new critical possibilities.

A strong objection must be raised against the title. Whether any eight novelists can stand for “American Fiction” of any period is problematical. But certainly these eight novelists cannot stand for the period 1920-40. Actually, most of them did not become prominent until the thirties, and the book omits altogether most of the leading novelists of the twenties: Lewis, Cather, *et al.* The anomaly is obvious from Mr. Beach’s own bibliography, which contains only seventeen books (most of them immature and unimportant) published before 1930, and sixty-one published from that date onward. An attempt to justify the title perhaps leads the author into an unfortunate passage in which he seems to pooh-pooh the work of Crane, Norris, Dreiser, and Lewis in order to play up *Three*



*Soldiers* as "the beginning of strictly contemporary fiction in the United States" (p. 34).

A book covering such a large field can hardly escape a few slips from the tickle path of accuracy. With the mischievous spirit of a reviewer I can scarcely let pass unnoted the fact that Mr. Beach refers to "Lester Jeeter" instead of "Jeeter Lester," and constantly calls the family "the Jeeters." Also we read of "Bon's having an octaroon [*sic*] mistress . . . with a child of one-twelfth negro blood" (p. 167). In a bisexual world, try that fraction on your slide rule, or else consult the nearest professor of genetics.

University of California.

GEORGE R. STEWART.

HAWTHORNE AS EDITOR: *Selections from His Writings in The American Magazine for Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*. By Arlin Turner. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State Press. 1941. vi, 290 pp. \$2.75.

Hawthorne was thirty-two years old when, with the assistance of his sister Elizabeth, he assumed for six months the editorship of *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*. Toward the end of his period of solitude, he had already written some of his memorable tales, among them "The Gentle Boy" and "Roger Malvin's Burial"; and his restless, introspective mind had long since formed its habits of exploration of the moral nature. This Hawthorne, attaining fulfillment fourteen years later in *The Scarlet Letter*, is presumably the enduring Hawthorne, the penetrative analyst of human wisdoms and follies whom Lowell ventured to compare with Shakespeare.

No such Hawthorne is visible in this collection of his editorial writings. Although Mr. Turner is able to indicate anticipations of the romancer in these potboilers of a maladjusted journalist, most of these studies are hackwork. They are, indeed, superficial chat on a preposterous variety of topics, concerning which only a trained encyclopedist could be informed; and they add nothing to the fame of the essential Hawthorne, master of moral detail. It is unlikely that we shall ever turn to this volume for enlightenment concerning asthma, Cincinnati, coinage, dancing horses, fashions of hats, lightning rods, salt, or the wars of Louis XIV, to mention only a few of the topics which engaged the creator of Hester Prynne and Donatello, under the flails of necessity and at a few hours' notice. Mr. Turner has added up with considerable skill these trivia into sections of biography, history, and geography, information concerning nature, literary criticism, and miscellaneous items, but even by such arithmetic no cubit is added to the stature of our man of letters. In fact, these little essays form a rather sad symbol of the misdirection of his distinguished talents.

This does not in any way mean that Mr. Turner has not made the most of his possibilities. He has, and we now have, instead of the vague allusions to Hawthorne's editorial sins, a complete and illuminating definition of his role, however hurried, inadequate, and unoriginal, as a magazinist. Moreover, if the deeper Hawthorne is woefully absent from these pages, the descriptive Hawthorne, the builder of backgrounds, the student of history, the observer of manners is here. It is probably true that no writer of superior powers can ever wholly conceal his gifts, and even in these catch-penny papers there are hints of that sensitivity to human faces, to reposeful scenes, to the gentle stir of life which bear the seal of his true hand. The dull biographies, the conventional descriptions of armor or coins, the amateurish discourse on natural phenomena may have bored the editor of 1836 almost as much as the reader of 1941; and the didactic note, sometimes absurdly forced, must have been derived not only from the juvenile stage of his craftsmanship but also from the etiquette of this insipid magazine. Yet he quickens, and so do we, as he depicts the inland villages of Martha's Vineyard, the passengers on the Ontario steamboat, or the Indian adventures of Mrs. Duston. To the specialist in Hawthorne, for whom this book is, of course, really designed, this early emergence of the Hawthorne of the sketches and of the discursive portions of the novels, must afford interest, and such students are likely to be grateful to Mr. Turner's careful representation of Hawthorne as an editor.

Yale University.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

SYLVESTER JUDD (1813-1853): *Novelist of Transcendentalism*. By Philip Judd Brockway. Orono: University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 53. 1941. xiii, 121 pp.

Mr. Brockway's monograph adds another volume to the increasingly useful "Studies in English and American Literature," written and published at the University of Maine under the direction of Professor Milton Ellis. It is a timely and welcome study, particularly in view of the growing recognition of its subject by recent historians of the period.

Sylvester Judd was subjected to orthodox Calvinistic influences both in the parental home in western Massachusetts and at Yale (1832-36). Within a year after his graduation from Yale, however, he announced, in an essay addressed to the members of his family, his adoption of more liberal views. "The logic [of the essay]," Mr. Brockway comments, "is the logic of Channing, but the enthusiasm is undeniably that of a potential romanticist." Judd attended the Harvard Divinity School from 1837 to 1840, and from 1840 until his death in 1853 he was minister of the

Unitarian Church in Augusta, Maine. *Margaret: A Tale of the Real and Ideal*, his most famous work, was published in 1845. A second novel, *Richard Edney and the Governor's Family*, and a long poem, *Philo: An Evangeliad*, appeared in 1850. A romantic drama in blank verse, *The White Hills: An American Tragedy*, begun in 1851 and never finished, is extant only in the fragments printed in Arethusa Hall's *Life and Character of Sylvester Judd* (1857).

Mr. Brockway is concerned for the most part with Judd's "Transcendentalism," and specifically with evidence of Emerson's influence. External evidence, curiously enough, seems altogether lacking. Mr. Brockway finds no specific reference to Emerson in Judd's writings, not even in the letters and diaries written at the Divinity School, where Emerson delivered, at the end of Judd's first year, the highly controversial *Divinity School Address*. And on Emerson's side, there is only the casual late entry in the *Journals* in 1852, "I saw Judd in Augusta . . ." (reworked anonymously in *The Conduct of Life* as "I once asked a clergyman in a retired town . . ."). But there can be no doubt, of course, of Emerson's influence on Judd, both in ideas and in actual images and phrases. Mr. Brockway cites some good parallels in support of the influence. The following examples are illustrative:

. . . if the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide, the huge world will come round to him. (*The American Scholar*)

If we stand still, I have heard it said, the world will come round to us. (A letter by Judd, dated September 7, 1837)

The long slender bars of cloud float like fishes in the sea of crimson light. (*Nature*)

There were clouds, to the eye of the child, like fishes. . . . (*Margaret*)

Judd's "Transcendentalism" reached its high point in *Margaret*; subsequently, there appears to have been a falling off. Mr. Brockway notes the altered tone of *Richard Edney*, and the subordination of "soul" to "the secondary matters of social rank, riches and poverty, labor and capital." (The book is a vivid contemporary picture of the industrial, social, and religious life of a New England mill town, identified by Mr. Brockway as Augusta.) In *Philo*, Judd went so far as to represent the Transcendentalists as confessing their error to Christ:

Too oft on self we gazed, and less on thee:  
To-day the mirror's broken . . .  
Our fount ran dry, alas! good Lord; and now  
We bring our empty bowls to thee.

Even though the Transcendentalists are treated less severely in the poem than other transgressors, the quoted passage can hardly be construed otherwise than as a radical objection to Emersonian Transcendentalism. Indeed, despite Mr. Brockway's impressive array of parallels, it seems to me doubt-

ful if Judd was ever as Transcendental as Emerson, even in *Margaret*. The religious life of Mons Christi, while embellished by various non-Christian elements, recognized the special authority of the life and teachings of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament. It was Emerson's heresy that he denied this special authority. It is therefore difficult to see how Judd could have agreed with such heretical pronouncements as "Make your own Bible" and "Thank God for these good men, but say, 'I also am a man.'" Mr. Brockway, I am inclined to believe, does not sufficiently recognize the sharp line of demarcation between Transcendentalism and Unitarianism. "I am supremely a Christian," Judd wrote in 1852, "being neither pagan nor Jew, unbeliever nor Transcendentalist."

*Margaret* is a tale of the "real," as well as of the "ideal." The author's realistic pictures of New England rural life are of extraordinary interest and value. Judd apparently knew well the rural customs and speech. He described with astonishing freshness the meetings in the woods, the training days, the husking bees. He understood the social and religious conflicts in the villages. The language is often amazingly colloquial. All told, the representation seems authentic, though one should perhaps make some allowance for the author's propagandist purpose. In his zeal for Unitarian liberalism, Judd was possibly less than fair to the orthodox party (for an amusing example, see page 459 of the 1845 edition); in his zeal for "temperance," he may have overemphasized the evils of drink. Because the author wished to enforce the contrast between the "real" and the "ideal," his picture of the "real," I imagine, errs on the sordid side. Certainly, if one compares Judd's picture in *Margaret* with Dwight's in *Greenfield Hill*, one may suppose that the historical reality lay somewhere between, that rural life in western Massachusetts and Connecticut in the 1790's, while less idyllic than Dwight's representation, was somewhat less sordid than Judd's.

Readers may reasonably differ as to the relative value of the realistic and the Transcendental elements in *Margaret*. Mr. Brockway finds Judd's chief merit in his embodiment of Transcendental ideas in the form of the novel. This view seems to me a little extravagantly to make Emerson the measure of all things. It is an ironical commentary on such an evaluation that the Transcendentalists as a class cared little for novels of whatever kind. I should prefer, in any event, to make Judd's claim upon our interest not quite so dependent upon his affinities with Emerson; for even without those affinities, Judd still might well be remembered, and read, as an early realistic novelist of New England life.

Brown University.

RANDALL STEWART.

CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK (MARY NOAILLES MURFREE). By Edd Winfield Parks. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. [1941.] x, 258 pp. \$2.50.

"Textbooks on literature," says Mr. Parks, "give to Charles Egbert Craddock a few paragraphs or pages; the anthologies usually reprint one story from *In the Tennessee Mountains*. Except for this briefly casual recognition, the novelist is forgotten." Mr. Parks is not inclined to take posterity to task for its neglect, but he is interested in relating the once well-known local colorist to her background, and in seeking the reason for the decline of her reputation. He has made use of an unpublished biography by the author's sister Fanny, which he has supplemented by conversations with her and by a personal examination of the surrounding country, together with a study of letters and manuscripts in the Emory University Library and of several master's theses. His book has the earmarks of a dissertation, including a number of ineptitudes of expression. It can hardly be said to evoke a living portrait of its subject.

Nevertheless, it is a readable, useful book. Although the author never quite says so, the Murfrees of Murfreesboro were genteel. As Southern gentle folk they led a tranquil, unpractical life. The lawyer-planter father was devoted to his daughters, read Scott and Dickens to them, and encouraged their writing. A story by Rebecca Harding Davis probably influenced Mary to write mountain stories. Her father's standing, together with her lameness and her willingness to sing, seems to have given her such access to the mountaineers as she had, but she always viewed her subjects as an "outsider." She could portray certain types, old men and boys and shrewish women, but her young men were usually prigs and her young women always heroic. She was not interested in such a type as a coal miner adapting himself to industrialism. No profanity and no obscenities mar her pages.

Mr. Parks might have made more of the contrast between Miss Murfree's gently bred Episcopalianism and the primitive religions of the mountaineers as an explanation of why she did not penetrate beneath the surface. He does explain that she was too independent to accept criticism and that, in her later works, she was unwilling to undergo the intellectual discipline necessary to secure artistic unity. She oversimplified the life she depicted, and for the most part did not integrate character with setting. Mountains, not men, became dominant factors in her work, and purple patches of description obtruded. If Miss Murfree had become more a part of her work, her writings might have had greater importance.

*Southern Methodist University.*

ERNEST E. LEISY.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE WRITINGS OF MARY HUNTER AUSTIN (1868-1934).

By Dudley Taylor Wynn. [New York:] Published Under the Auspices of the Graduate School of Arts and Science of New York University. 1941. ii, 22 pp. No price indicated.

This brochure contains a brief "Introduction" summarizing the first eight chapters of Dr. Wynn's thesis, and presents in full the ninth and last chapter, on Mary Austin's "Nature Writing." Although Mrs. Austin had "read extensively in Emerson and Thoreau" before she went to California in 1888, her first ventures into nature writing were influenced most directly by the work of John Muir. In *The Land of Little Rain* (1903) she sought to do for the desert east of the Sierras "what Muir had done for the more pleasant and less forbidding highlands, that is, to reveal, in the fashion of naturists, that no part of nature lacks its beauty or its power to inform the spiritually perceptive." Mrs. Austin, in fact, "took Transcendentalism to the desert"—a feat which Emerson had seemed to consider too formidable when he urged Muir to come back East. *The Flock* (1906) "has a place among the best of American nature writing," although the book departs from the tradition in exhibiting a vital concern with man's adjustment to his environment. As Mrs. Austin's interest in the problems of society grew, she put Emerson, Thoreau, and Muir more and more behind her. *The Land of Journey's Ending* (1924) is primarily "a book of prophecy": the landscape of desert and mountains is portrayed in some of the author's most successful descriptive passages, but she deals with the land primarily as the setting for the intramontane culture, harmoniously adjusted to its environment, which she predicts will appear in the Colorado River Basin. Mysticism is here not carried to the extreme evident in some of Mrs. Austin's later works; "almost every idea in *The Land of Journey's Ending* that is unacceptable to hardheaded realists could be attributed to mere poetic fancy." In general, thinks Dr. Wynn, although Mrs. Austin "abandoned the Transcendentalists for a much less philosophically rigorous mysticism of her own," she "carried on the spirit of Emerson and his romantic predecessors" in striving to "keep scientific and rational thought from robbing the world of all enchantment." The careful analysis of Mrs. Austin's relation to intellectual currents of her day suggests that the entire thesis deserves publication.

*Southern Methodist University.*

HENRY NASH SMITH.

A CONCORDANCE OF THE POETICAL WORKS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. By Bradford A. Booth and Claude E. Jones. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. xiv, 211 pp. \$5.50.

That Messrs. Booth and Jones decided not to concern themselves "with the problems of identification surrounding the Poe canon" before

compiling their concordance may be a disappointment to a few who will use this volume. In their Introduction the authors explain that they have taken Killis Campbell's *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (1917) for their basic text and have included "the short poems from *Notes and Queries* and Mabbott's edition of *The Selected Poems*." In the course that they have chosen the compilers are well aware that they have included some lines which are not Poe's and other lines which are of doubtful origin.

A random sampling reveals the following errors:

P. xiii: The Italian prepositions *de* and *di* should either appear in the list of omissions or be recorded.

P. l v: The printer fails to indent the two entries under Achaian.

P. 63v: Flapped should read Flapp'd. (The authors have not observed uniformity in recording similar contractions.)

P. 70v: The fifth entry under Gently should read: That gently, o'er a perfumed sea. See also the first entry under Perfumed (p. 136r).

P. 72v: The index word Glittering is misspelled.

P. 127v: The printer has dropped out the index word Nodding.

P. 133r: The second entry under Palls should be printed under Pallor.

P. 140r: The first entry under Powers should be printed under Precious.

P. 194r: The punctuation of the line under Uprising is not Poe's.

P. 197r: The second entry under Visions should read: The visions. . . .

P. 199r: The last entry under Wandering should read: Who wouldst. . . .

P. 200v: The third entry under Wave should read: The wave—there is a movement there.

These typographical errors and misplaced lines, however, do not much impair the usefulness and value of this tool for the study of Poe.

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

AMERICAN MIRROR: *Social, Ethical and Religious Aspects of American Literature, 1930-1940*. By Halford E. Luccock. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. vi, 300 pp. \$2.50.

The Professor of Homiletics in Yale University has read an astonishingly large number of literary and subliterate works published between 1930 and 1940, and has rendered a report of his findings in *American Mirror*. The nature of his special interest is unmistakable. "No attempt is made in this volume," he writes, "to distribute haloes. The interest in the novels, poems and plays discussed is not purely literary or aesthetic." Professor Luccock's major concern is with the picture of American life in the thirties reflected by the literature of the period. His method has

been to read, to summarize, and to classify works in accordance with the aspect of American life they reflect. Some of his major classifications are: "The candid camera at work"; "Exploring the inner world"; "The impact of the depression"; "The voice of labor"; "Religion—implicit and explicit." Sometimes the urge to classify tempts him to use a little force, as when, for example, in the section on urban regionalism he says of Sinclair Lewis's *Ann Vickers* that "it is only partly located in cities." Sometimes, the urge to fill out a category tempts him to mention authors or works without discussing them, as when in the chapter on religion, he writes, "*Family Portrait*, by Lenore Coffey and William Joyce Cowen, is a beautiful and impressive play on the family of Jesus."

Since Professor Luccock is concerned, not with the form and style of literature but with its content, and since he attempts to avoid making esthetic judgments, his values tend to be quantitative. Thus he says of Dos Passos's *U. S. A.*, "It is probably the biggest canvass ever worked on in American literature," and of Josephine Herbst's trilogy, "There has been painted one of the largest canvasses of American life which has ever been attempted." He seems to raise no question as to the accuracy of the representation. When, moreover, he ventures on esthetic or qualitative judgments, the results are not encouraging. Thus, he designates Paul Green's *This Body the Earth* "one of the strongest novels of the South," praises Aben Kandel's *City for Conquest* because "it is not so 'dizzy' as Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer* and still covers far more territory in presenting different groups and localities, showing them members one of another," appraises the central figure in Dorothy Canfield's *Seasoned Timber* as "one of the most moving pictures of the great soul as teacher in American fiction," and believes that Stephen Benét's *Burning City* "contains some of the finest and strongest poetry infused with social feeling and outlook." It is not surprising, therefore, that he should find it "rather strange why Lloyd Douglass has not been taken more seriously as a novelist, for he has a real gift for narrative and conversation."

There is some carelessness in documentation. On page 121 there is a quotation from a novel by Elliott Arnold although its title does not appear anywhere in the book, and on page 165, a long and important passage is quoted with no indication as to its source.

The most thought-provoking part of the book is the second chapter in which Professor Luccock describes what he regards as the major literary trends of the thirties. The most important of these are "the emergence of literature into the realm of public questions"; the emergence of hunger and labor into literature; a shift of influence from Freud to Marx, "from a preoccupation with the psyche of the individual to the impact of economic forces on the mass"; the cult of fear and violence and



the revival, as in contemporary theology, of an acute sense of demoniacal evil. These suggestive generalizations any literary critic or historian dealing with the period would do well to take into account. One qualification, however, needs to be made. These generalizations rest on literature deliberately selected to mirror the more violent changes of the decade. No consideration is given to a great deal of serious literature of which the aim is not the fidelity of a dime-store mirror. A very different series of generalizations might result from the reading and classification of books produced in the thirties and chosen, not on sociological but on esthetic grounds.

But, despite the limitations of the book, it is likely to prove a useful piece of work. Students of the period will find it useful since the classified descriptions of contemporary books will draw their attention to many rather obscure and relatively inaccessible works. Possibly the greatest service the book can render is by suggesting that literary historians ought to attempt a systematic survey and interpretation of contemporary literary productions. The fact that their evaluations may not prove enduring will not prevent their being valuable indices of currents in American taste.

*Wesleyan University.*

FRED B. MILLETT.

INDEX TO EARLY AMERICAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1728-1870. No. 3. *Walt Whitman*. Sponsored by New York City Board of Education, English Department and Washington Square Library, New York University. New York: Pamphlet Distributing Co. 1941. 19 pp. \$1.00.

This bibliography is arranged in seven sections under the following headings: "Poems by Walt Whitman," "Short Stories by Walt Whitman," "Articles by Walt Whitman," "Book Reviews of Walt Whitman's Works," "Reviews of Books and Articles about Walt Whitman," "Biography and Criticism of Walt Whitman," and "Poems about Walt Whitman." The items in each section are arranged alphabetically under the name of the author. Although the *Index* purports to cover only the period from 1728 to 1870, this bibliography is not so limited. In fact, most of the items listed first appeared in print after 1870.

An editorial note explains that the bibliography "does not claim to be an all-inclusive periodical index to Walt Whitman." That it is not all-inclusive is obvious. What is not obvious is the principle which guided the compilers in making their selections, since many items omitted are unquestionably more important than some of those included. The section "Poems by Walt Whitman" contains less than half the number of entries to be found in the bibliography of *The Cambridge History of American Literature*. Among the more important omissions are the following: "A Child's Reminiscence," published in the New York *Saturday Press*, De-

ember 24, 1859, later renamed "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking"; "Bardic Symbols," published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1860, later renamed "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life"; and "Proud Music of the Sea-Storm," published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869, later called "Proud Music of the Storm." On the other hand, the bibliography includes three or four items not listed in the *Cambridge History*, one of which seems important. This is "Longings for Home," published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, July, 1860, later renamed "O Magnet-South." Inadvertently no doubt, but unfortunately, Edwin Arlington Robinson's poem on Walt Whitman (published in his first volume, *The Torrent and The Night Before*, and afterwards rejected), which properly appears in the section "Poems about Whitman," appears also in the section "Poems by Walt Whitman," as "The Torrent and the Night Before."

The section "Book Reviews of Walt Whitman's Works" lists only one review of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and one of the second edition. There is no review of the third edition nor of any subsequent edition, except *Drum-Taps*, until 1881. Nevertheless, space is provided to list reviews of four relatively unimportant books of selections. More than twice as much space is devoted to reviews of books and articles about Whitman as is devoted to reviews of Whitman's own works.

The section "Biography and Criticism of Walt Whitman" apparently lists in full the more than three hundred Whitman articles published by Horace Traubel in the *Conservator* between 1890 and 1919. Indeed, these items make up more than three fourths of the total in this section. I have checked them with my own list of *Conservator* articles taken directly from the periodical, and I have found but one or two omissions. Other periodicals, however, are very inadequately represented.

Although this list will be useful as a supplement to existing Whitman bibliographies, it will not be worth a great deal by itself. It is to be regretted that, having taken so much trouble, the compilers should not have taken enough to make a fuller and more dependable bibliography.

North Texas State Teachers College.

FLOYD STOVALL.

THE LAST YEARS OF HENRY TIMROD, 1864-1867: *Including Letters of Timrod to Paul Hamilton Hayne and Letters about Timrod by William Gilmore Simms, John R. Thompson, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Others.* With Four Uncollected Poems and Seven Uncollected Prose Pieces. Drawn Chiefly from the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection in the Duke University Library. Edited by Jay B. Hubbell. Durham: Duke University Press. 1941. xi, 184 pp. \$2.50.

Professor Hubbell set for himself a modest yet difficult task. He has attempted to present all the known facts about Henry Timrod's life and

work from 1864 to 1867, the crucial, unhappy last years of the poet's life. Through contemporary letters and records, he presents a picture of Timrod as he revealed himself, and as he was seen by his friends. In his notes the editor corrects factual errors and adds useful information. Source material of great value is here printed for the first time, so arranged that it makes an interesting and reasonably complete narrative.

The long subtitle indicates the scope of the book. In addition, Professor Hubbell reprints an article by Simms that was written immediately after Timrod's death, and gives in full, from the manuscripts, several letters about Timrod's father, a poet in his own right. What the subtitle fails to indicate is that most of the letters are here published for the first time. In his 1873 *Memoir*, Hayne published several of Timrod's letters, but he unwisely altered them, making the style florid and ornate. Here they are printed as they were written. Along with them are interesting new letters by Timrod, Hayne, Simms, and Whittier.

This new material will not radically change our concept of Timrod as man or as poet; but it clarifies some previously obscure biographical points, and rounds out our knowledge of his work. The letters, particularly, have a double interest, presenting something of Timrod's personal life and some informal comments on his own poetry and critical theory.

The biographical matter is the less important. The picture Timrod draws of himself (like that drawn by his friends) is a tragic one, in almost unrelieved black and gray. The last years of war and the first years of reconstruction were for him days of personal grief over the loss of his son, of destitution that extended, frequently, to lack of food, of constant and terrible illness. His fortitude and effort have in them a heartening quality: here is testimony of a man's spirit.

The four poems are good, typical work, but not equal to the best of his poetry. The most interesting one, the sonnet "Soon must I leave this tongue-envenomed town," is in the octave a direct, personal attack on local gossip, and in the sestet a tribute to the lady who was the subject of it: presumably his wife. These poems are the work of the mature writer, and as such are valuable, but they are only a small part of his uncollected poetry. The seven editorials—"dwarf essays," Simms called them—have more importance, for they give a fair sampling of his journalistic writing. Timrod's prose is almost as distinguished as his poetry. These short pieces reveal a lucid, thoughtful mind and a strict artistic integrity. Perhaps the most important contribution of this book is the light it sheds on Timrod as critic. The occasional flashing insights and reflective judgments in the letters and editorials are those of a perceptive critic.

In his last years, Timrod doubted if even his best poems would be collected in book form. Hayne finally succeeded in this undertaking, but only after long and agonizing efforts, and long after Timrod's death. But Timrod merits more comprehensive study. Today we have no scholarly edition of his poetry, his essays, or his earlier letters. No writer of equal stature in this country has received so little attention. Professor Hubbell has taken a brief, important period of his life; he has succeeded admirably within his self-appointed limits. If this book marks the beginning of a definitive publication of Timrod's writing, we shall soon be in a position to evaluate his work honestly, out of a full knowledge. Until that time, we can have only a partial understanding of Timrod.

*The University of Georgia.*

EDD WINFIELD PARKS.

## BRIEF MENTION

CHECK LIST OF LETTERS TO AND FROM POE. Compiled by John Ward Ostrom. (University of Virginia Bibliographical Series Number Four.) Charlottesville: Alderman Library. 1941. (Mimeographed.) 57 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Ostrom's skillfully compiled list of approximately seven hundred and fifty letters to and from Poe is a by-product of his work in progress on a critical edition of Poe's letters under the direction of Dean James Southall Wilson of the University of Virginia. Mr. Ostrom invites further information about these letters.

Among my own notes I find that "A Savannah author" (Mr. Ostrom's Letters 104 and 128) is Stephen Greenleaf Bulfinch. There is perhaps an earlier draft of Mr. Ostrom's Letter 311. I also have a reference to a letter dated December 7, 1846, from Poe to A. N. Howard, which I have not seen; how authentic this letter is I do not know. I believe that some day a Poe letter will be found in the *Newbern* (N. C.) *Spectator* for June or July, 1836. In the revived *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1941 (which appeared after Mr. Ostrom's monograph), a facsimile of a letter dated August 7, 1847, from Poe to N. P. Willis is reproduced. Its authenticity seems doubtful. Another letter dated December 7, 1847, from Poe to Willis was offered for sale in New York several years ago. It is a bit puzzling that Mr. Ostrom omits Poe's letter dated March 3, 1836, to John Collins McCabe, which was first printed in Armistead C. Gordon's *Memories and Memorials of William Gordon McCabe* (Richmond, 1925), I, 16-17. In this letter Poe acknowledges the receipt of one dated April 24, 1836, from McCabe, which is also missing from Mr. Ostrom's list. Another omission is Poe's letter dated September 27, 1842, to Edgar Janvier and W. W. McNair (now in the possession of Lafayette College), in which he refers to their letter of September 15. In spite of these omissions Mr. Ostrom has done an excellent piece of work.

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

DUNBAR CRITICALLY EXAMINED. By Victor Lawson. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers. 1941. xvi, 151 pp. \$2.00.

"This essay," we are told, "was written as a Master's Thesis . . . at Howard University." As such it is an acceptable performance. Since the aim of the work is critical, it is not surprising that the author presents no new facts concerning Paul Laurence Dunbar. The effort is made to place

Dunbar in relationship to the poetry of the nineteenth century, by analyzing his themes and by tracing parallels with other poets who employed similar materials. But since the whole meaning of a poem is not to be found either in its theme or in any other single aspect, this method, although perhaps interesting to the social historian, fails to explain either the luminous inspiration of Dunbar's best work or the frequent failures which are so disappointing in his work as a whole. Mr. Lawson's presentation of Dunbar's treatment of Negro life, and his analysis of the poet's racial humor are somewhat more successful.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

SCULLEY BRADLEY.

ESSAYS ON THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN HONOR OF CHARLES SWAIN  
THOMAS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. 286 pp. \$2.50.

ENGLISH INSTITUTE ANNUAL—1939. New York: Columbia University  
Press. 1940. 164 pp. \$2.00.

The title and the brief introduction of the first volume make clear that it was printed not merely to do honor to a veteran teacher and his special profession but also to voice the conviction that culture and beauty, the quickening of the literary sense, the illumination of the individual mind are objectives of worth-while English teaching. As the product of some five hundred years of teaching experience by some twenty English teachers, the book undoubtedly commands attention. No real unity has been achieved in the collection, and practically none could have been attained, but jointly the essays furnish a fund of rich experience to which any teacher should welcome access. Only three foci can be noted amid the diversity: first, concern with the teaching of composition on the elementary, secondary, and college level; second, protests against regarding English as a mere instrument of social efficiency, and its contents as mere bypaths of social science; third, the analysis of the grounds for studying grammar. All contributors write on one thing with which they have familiarity. If they do not agree on what the objectives are—some have specific ones and others disclaim knowledge of any—they do present aspects of the question as to whether or not English is an art susceptible of analysis or a science which can be objectively treated, and they do all join in the chorus, suggested by one contributor: "We Dare to Teach English."

"Teaching and Creative Scholarship" is the one bond between the first and second volumes. *The English Institute Annual—1939* is a product of Columbia meetings devoted to such problems in literary research as dialect, the editing of correspondence and of Middle English texts, and to the social significance of drama. The papers of greatest

interest attempt to define biography as a type, to promote the study of the Victorian age, to explain the methods of the history of ideas. For the rest, the book is concerned with the ways of literary scholarship, the search for documents, and finally the choice of research topics. When more real unity can be attained, such volumes will be of greater service.

G. H. O.

BOOKBINDING IN AMERICA: *Three Essays*. Edited by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1941. xix, 293 pp. \$7.50.

The three essays (Hannah Dustin French's "Early American Book-binding by Hand," Joseph W. Rogers' "The Rise of American Edition Binding," and the editor's "On the Rebinding of Old Books") in this volume are chiefly addressed to students of bookmaking, collectors, and librarians, but historians of American culture will find them worth-while reading.

D. K. J.

THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS. With an Introduction by Carl Van Doren. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1941. xiv, 879 pp. \$5.00.

This useful volume was compiled by members of the staff of the Oxford University Press under the general editorship of Miss Alice Mary Smyth. For certain authors the material was chosen by outsiders. Ernest de Selincourt, for instance, selected the quotations from Wordsworth. The quotations are arranged alphabetically under authors' names, but an Index gives the key word of each quotation. There are separate sections for the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and Foreign Quotations. Under the heading Anonymous are grouped Ballads, Nursery Rhymes, and quotations from *Punch*. Popularity rather than merit was the test for inclusion. "A short section of Addenda has been added containing a few quotations that have become familiar since the first part was printed off and certain omissions that have been noted in time for inclusion" (p. x). One is surprised to find in the whole book only a single quotation (dated 1906) from Prime Minister Churchill. Under Anonymous we find "All quiet along the Potomac" attributed to General McClellan but belonging properly to Mrs. Ethel Lynn Beers's "The Picket Guard," claimed also by two Confederate poets who almost certainly did not write it.

The compilers tell us that the most quoted authors are in order of frequency of quotation: Browning, Byron, Cowper, Dickens, Johnson, Kipling, Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley, Tennyson, Wordsworth, the Bible,

and the Book of Common Prayer. One can hardly believe that this order holds for American readers. A considerable number of American authors is included, but it would seem that quotations have been chosen on the basis of their familiarity to English readers. There are quotations from Artemus Ward, who lectured in England, but none from Josh Billings. There are twenty-three quotations from Walter de la Mare and only two from Robert Frost. There are ten from Thomas Jefferson but none from the Declaration of Independence! Miss Smyth and her collaborators, however, would have found their task an almost impossible one had they taken into consideration the familiarity of the American reading public with quotations from authors whether English or American. We have a better cause for complaint against English anthologists who include both British and American poetry. I am still wondering on what basis Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch chose the American poems in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*.

REASON IN MADNESS: *Critical Essays*. By Allen Tate. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [1941.] xiv, 230 pp. \$2.50.

Of the twelve thoughtful essays which appear in this volume, only "Literature as Knowledge" was written specifically for this book; and yet all of them, as Mr. Tate points out in his Preface, deal with "a deep illness of the modern mind," an illness which affects many aspects of modern life besides politics. The discussions of modern poetry are among the best essays in the book. "Miss Emily and the Bibliographer," a paper read before the English Club at Princeton, is a vigorous protest against methods employed in some graduate schools.

ON LITERATURE TODAY. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1941. 29 pp. \$1.00.

This address, delivered at the inauguration of George N. Shuster as President of Hunter College on October 10, 1940, contains some excellent criticism of recent American literature as aimless and pessimistic, lacking in the "mood of health, will, courage, faith in human nature, . . . the dominant mood in the history of literature" (p. 13). One wishes that in his notable studies of New England Mr. Brooks had more frequently exercised his critical function, for he is one of the best of living literary critics.

A VENTURE IN REMEMBRANCE. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company. 1941. xii, 319 pp. \$2.50.

The chief purpose of this autobiography, writes Mr. Howe, "is to fix attention not so much upon its author as upon backgrounds, personalities,



and phases of life in the region and period he has known." Since his graduation from Harvard in 1887, Mr. Howe's life has been identified with Boston except for the years 1929-1931, when he was Consultant in Biography at the Library of Congress. He worked on the *Youth's Companion*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, and the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*. He has written biographies, or edited the letters of, John Jay Chapman, Barrett Wendell, Charles Eliot Norton, George Bancroft, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, and many others. *A Venture in Remembrance* throws some light upon Mr. Howe's methods as a biographer, but perhaps its chief value lies in its presentation of certain aspects of Boston life during the past fifty years. Particularly interesting are the chapters entitled "Initiate of Boston" and "The Boston of Fiction and Fact." Here is a sympathetic interpretation quite unlike that in the recent novels of J. P. Marquand, who, we may add, has denied (p. 102) that Mr. Howe was the prototype of the biographer in *The Late George Apley*.

VOLTAIRE IN AMERICA 1744-1800. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literature and Languages, Volume xxxix.) By Mary-Margaret H. Barr. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. 150 pp. \$1.25.

This study is based largely on American editions of Voltaire and on such materials as are found in newspapers, magazines, and booksellers' catalogues. It includes some account of Voltaire's plays on the American stage, and it gives typical estimates by Americans who had read Voltaire. There is an abundance of evidence that Voltaire was read in the American colonies. In spite of her title, Miss Barr has limited her study to New England and the Middle Atlantic colonies. This is unfortunate, for, as she points out, the first American book which included material by Voltaire was published in Charleston. Had she consulted Southern newspapers and the early published catalogues of the Charleston Library Society, she would have been able to extend the scope of her study materially. If this study had been made by a specialist in American literary and cultural history, we should expect a better interpretation of the significance of the author's findings, but obviously one cannot expect a student whose primary interest is in French literature to possess an intimate knowledge of American literature and history for the years 1744-1800.

THE COWLED LOVER & OTHER PLAYS. By Robert Montgomery Bird. Edited by Edward H. O'Neill. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. x, 221 pp. \$5.00. \$85.00 the set.

**METAMORA & OTHER PLAYS.** By John Augustus Stone, Charles Powell Clinch, H. J. Conway (?), Joseph Stevens Jones, Silas S. Steele, Joseph M. Field, John H. Wilkins, John Brougham. Edited by Eugene R. Page. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. viii, 398 pp. \$5.00.

**FOUR PLAYS.** By Royall Tyler. Edited by Arthur Wallace Peach and George Floyd Newbrough. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. x, 121 pp. \$5.00.

**MONTE CRISTO.** By Charles Fechter as Played by James O'Neill. & Other Plays. By Julia Ward Howe, George C. Hazelton, Langdon Mitchell, William C. De Mille. Edited by J. B. Russak. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. 360 pp. \$5.00.

These are Volumes XII, XIV, XV, XVI of the twenty-volume series "America's Lost Plays." Volume XIII, of which we have not received a review copy, contains six plays by Richard Penn Smith and is edited by H. W. Schoenberger and Ralph H. Ware.

**BRANN THE PLAYWRIGHT: *With the Text of His English Society Drama That American Woman.*** (The University of Texas Publication, No. 4121, June 1, 1941.) By Edward G. Fletcher and Jack L. Hart. Austin, Texas. 1941. 68 pp.

This might well be called another of America's "lost" plays. The Introduction gives a workmanlike account of W. C. Brann's experiences in writing for the stage.

**SAINT ELMO: *A Comedy Drama in Three Acts.*** By Preston Conway. Founded on the Novel of the Same Name by Augusta J. Evans. New York, etc.: Samuel French. [1941.] 92 pp. \$50.

**MODERN AMERICAN DRAMAS.** Edited by Harlan Hatcher. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1941. viii, 394 pp. \$1.25.

An anthology with competently prepared introduction, notes, and bibliography which contains the following plays: Eugene O'Neill, *Beyond the Horizon*; Elmer Rice, *The Adding Machine*; Sidney Howard, *Dodsworth*; Maxwell Anderson, *Winterset*; Clifford Odets, *Awake and Sing!*; Robert E. Sherwood, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*; Thornton Wilder, *Our Town*; and Ellis St. Joseph, *A Passenger to Bali*.

THE WRITER'S RADIO THEATER, 1940-1941: *Outstanding Plays of the Year.*

Edited by Norman S. Weiser. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. [1941.] 213 pp. \$2.00.

This volume is the first of its kind, for the radio theater is only five years old. The two best radio playwrights who have yet appeared, Mr. Weiser believes, are Arch Obeler, here represented by *Mr. Ginsburg*, and Norman Corwin, who is the author of two of the ten plays: *Words without Music* and *Seems Radio Is Here to Stay*. Among plays not included but listed in the Honor Roll are Archibald MacLeish's *Air Raid* and W. H. Auden's *Dark Valley*.

READING I'VE LIKED: *A Personal Selection Drawn from Two Decades of Reading and Reviewing Presented with an Informal Prologue and Various Commentaries.* Edited by Clifton Fadiman. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1941. lxvi, 906 pp. \$3.00.

This is an unusually interesting anthology of recent literature including such diverse writers as Sarah Orne Jewett, Thomas Mann, Justice O. W. Holmes, Frank Moore Colby, C. K. Ogden, and Jules Romains. Equally interesting is Mr. Fadiman's introduction, "My Life Is an Open Book: Confessions and Digressions of an Incurable."

PULITZER PRIZE POEMS. Compiled by Marjorie Barrows. New York: Random House. [1941.] xviii, 202 pp. \$2.50.

Selections from the sixteen American poets who have been awarded the Pulitzer Prize in poetry. "The poems which have been selected are not the highly difficult poems appreciated by the few, but the simpler, better-loved poems that a larger American public has already greeted with enthusiasm" (Publisher's Foreword).

THE PATRIOTIC ANTHOLOGY. Introduced by Carl Van Doren. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc. 1941. xxviii, 527 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Van Doren, who is apparently not the compiler of this book of selections, describes it as "a panorama of American patriotism chosen to illustrate high moments in American history, high thoughts, high emotions, high hopes." The selections are well chosen.

THE ART OF LITERARY CRITICISM. Edited by Paul Robert Lieder and Robert Withington. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. [1941.] xii, 689 pp. \$3.50.

This anthology contains 42 selections from 37 authors. American literature is represented by Poe's "The Poetic Principle" and James's "The Art of Fiction."

STUDIES IN CIVILIZATION. By J. B. Wace, Otto E. Neugebauer, William S. Ferguson, Arthur E. R. Boak, Edward K. Rand, Arthur C. Howland, Charles C. Osgood, William J. Entwistle, John H. Randall, Jr., Carlton J. Hayes, Charles H. McIlwain, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Charles Cestre, Stanley T. Williams. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1941. vi, 200 pp. \$2.00.

Of these University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference papers, three are of especial interest to students of American literature: Arthur M. Schlesinger's "World Currents in American Civilization," Charles Cestre's "A Century of American Poetry," and Stanley T. Williams's "Tradition and Rebellion: European Patterns in the Literature of America."

SIDNEY LANIER: *Poet and Prosodist*. By Richard Webb and Edwin R. Coulson. [Preface by Garland Greever.] Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1941. xviii, 108 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Webb's "Sidney Lanier, Poet and Prosodist," which Professor Greever describes as "the first systematic and thoroughgoing criticism of Lanier ever written," was awarded the Porter Prize at Yale in 1903. Mr. Coulson's "Lanier's Place as American Poet and Prosodist" is chiefly a summary of what various critics have said of Lanier's poems and theories of versification.

ROBERT CARTER OF NOMINI HALL: *A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century*. By Louis Morton. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. 1941. xviii, 332 pp. \$3.50.

This book, which was printed by the Princeton University Press, is the second volume in the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Series. From the numerous extant records Dr. Morton has reconstructed the story of the varied activities of a prominent Virginia planter, who is well known to students of Philip Vickers Fithian's diary and letters.

CULTURAL LIFE IN NASHVILLE ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By F. Garvin Davenport. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1941. xiv, 232 pp. \$3.50.

This Vanderbilt University dissertation in American history covers the period 1825-1860 with the emphasis upon the fifties. The chapters on religion, education, the theater, and amusements are better than the chapter entitled "Pens and Printers' Ink, 1850-1860." Nashville, which in the forties and fifties became a cultural center of some interest, was one of two or three intellectual oases in Tennessee. Particularly interesting is the story of Philip Lindsley, who did all that was humanly possible to make a great university out of the University of Nashville.

THE NORTHERN TEACHER IN THE SOUTH 1862-1870. By Henry Lee Swint. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 1941. x, 221 pp. \$2.50.

This book—one of the first to be brought out by the new Vanderbilt University Press—tells the story of the Northern teachers who came south during and immediately after the Civil War to establish schools for Negroes and whites. "Abolitionist in sentiment and equalitarian in practice, these men and women represented a philosophy which was anathema to the Southern white, and the program which they introduced met with hearty and active opposition" (p. v). Dr. Swint or some other historian should give us the story of the Northern teachers who played so important a role in ante-bellum Southern schools and colleges.

PAUL ELMER MORE: *A Bibliography*. By Malcolm Young. Princeton, [N. J.]: Princeton University Press. 1941. iv, 40 pp. \$50.

This bibliography lists Mr. More's books, numerous articles from his pen, and critical material about his work. It does not, however, pretend to be complete, for, as Mr. Young states, "Anonymous writing was especially frequent during his literary editorship of the *Independent*, 1901-1903, of the *New York Evening Post*, 1903-1909, and his editorship of the *Nation*, 1909-1914. All known appearances of Mr. More's essays have been listed."

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Prepared by The Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects Works Progress Administration. Compiled by Paul Bleyden. Edited by Bernard S. Levin. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1940. xiv, 350 pp.

An alphabetical list, with brief descriptions, of 1,141 separate manuscript collections. This guide, states Mr. Julian P. Boyd in his Foreword, "provides the historian, the genealogist, the antiquarian, and the public generally, for the first time, with as complete a *précis* as possible of this immensely rich corpus of historical records."

AMERICA IN FICTION: *An Annotated List of Novels That Interpret Aspects of Life in the United States*. By Otis W. Coan and Richard G. Lillard. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press. [1941.] vi, 180 pp. \$1.50.

"*America in Fiction* is designed to aid students of American civilization—adults using the facilities of public libraries, college undergraduates, and young people in the eleventh and twelfth grades. As the title indicates, it lists fiction only—novels, whole volumes of short stories, or collections of digested folklore. It is the outgrowth of a course entitled

'American Life and Literature' that we have given for several years at Los Angeles City College" (Preface).

SYLLABUS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By William T. Hastings. [Third Edition.] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [1941.] xii, 141 pp. \$1.00.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS OF GERTRUDE STEIN: *Exhibited in the Yale University Library 22 February to 29 March 1941*. Compiled by Robert Bartlett Haas and Donald Clifford Gallup. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. 64 pp.

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES. Compiled at the University of Chicago under the editorship of Sir William Craigie and James R. Hulbert. Part XIII, Mingo—Outdoor Life. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press. [1941.] Pp. 1525-1652. \$4.00.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. By Enid LaMonte Meadowcroft. Illustrated by Donald McKay. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1941. 191 pp. \$2.00.

JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS: *Plantation Storyteller*. By Alvin F. Harlow. Illustrated by W. C. Nims. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. [1941.] x, 278 pp. \$2.50.

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY: *Hoosier Poet*. By Jeannette Covert Nolan. Illustrated by Robert S. Robison. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. [1941.] xviii, 265 pp. \$2.50.

Three readable and attractively illustrated biographies intended for young readers.

THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND, 1815-1865. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: The Modern Library. [1941.] 550 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Brooks's admirably written story of the New England Renaissance has recently been included among the Modern Library Giants at a price which will encourage teachers to ask their students to buy it.

J. B. H.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the January, 1942, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

- [BRACKENRIDGE, H. H.] Haviland, Thomas P. "The Miltonic Quality of Brackenridge's *Poem on Divine Revelation*." *PMLA*, LVI, 588-592 (June, 1941).

Indebtedness to *Paradise Lost*, but especially to the "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity."

- [BRADSTREET, ANNE] Svendsen, J. Kester. "Anne Bradstreet in England: A Bibliographical Note." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 63-65 (Mar., 1941).

The fact that Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse* is listed in William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (1658) is evidence of her "popularity in England during her own lifetime."

- [COTTON, JOHN] Hirsch, Elizabeth Feist. "John Cotton and Roger Williams: Their Controversy Concerning Religious Liberty." *Church Hist.*, X, 38-51 (Mar., 1941).

- [MATHER, INCREASE] Loomis, C. Grant. "An Unnoted German Reference to Increase Mather." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 374-376 (June, 1941).

Mather's letter dealing with attempts to spread the gospel among the Indians was reprinted in *Unterredungen* in Sept., 1694.

- [SMITH, JOHN] Tolles, Frederick B. "A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXV, 300-333 (July, 1941).

Evidence of this colonial Quaker's wide reading, not only in philosophy, science, history, biography, and travel, but also in older and contemporary English literature.

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Hirsch, Elizabeth Feist. See above, *s.v.* COTTON.

## II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Bryant, Cullen. "Dictionary of the New York Dialect of the English Tongue" [c. 1820]. *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 157-158 (Apr., 1941).

A memorandum of twenty-six words and expressions constituting a comic "Dictionary of the New York Dialect," which Bryant probably wrote in 1818 during his earliest visit to New York.

[COOPER, J. F.] Flanagan, John T. "The Authenticity of Cooper's 'The Prairie.'" *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, II, 98-104 (Mar., 1941).

Contemporary objections to Cooper's novel on the grounds that it lacked authenticity, in improbabilities of plot and inaccuracies of setting.

[DERBY, G. H.] Bellamy, Gladys C. See below, *s.v.* CLEMENS.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Falk, Robert P. "Emerson and Shakespeare." *PMLA*, LVI, 532-543 (June, 1941).

Though occasionally because of "his inherited Puritan distrust of the playhouse" Emerson "dethrones Shakespeare," his judgments are not simply those of priest and moralist, as most critics assert, for "he is . . . more frequently . . . sympathetic with the pure humanity of the poet and with his transcendental use of Nature as a symbol. . . ."

[FULLER, MARGARET] Rostenberg, Leona. "Mazzini to Margaret Fuller, 1847-1849." *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 73-80 (Oct., 1841).

Six letters written by Joseph Mazzini to Margaret Fuller between Dec., 1847, and July, 1849.

[GRISWOLD, R. W.] McCusker, Honor. "The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold." *More Books*, XVI, 152-156, 190-196, 286-289 (Apr., May, June, 1941).

Second, third, and fourth installments of the catalogue of the correspondence in the Boston Public Library.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Baldensperger, Fernand. "A propos de 'Nathaniel Hawthorne en France.'" *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LVI, 343-345 (May, 1941).

Indication is given of the way in which Alphonse de Chateaubriant, author of *La Reponse du Seigneur* (1933), has felt the influence of "The Great Stone Face."

Pfeiffer, Karl G. "The Prototype of the Poet in 'The Great Stone Face.'" *Research Studies of the State Col. of Wash.*, IX, 100-108 (June, 1941).



The probability that Wordsworth served Hawthorne as the model for the figure of the Poet.

- [HOLMES, G. F.] Wish, Harvey. "George Frederick Holmes and the Southern Periodical Literature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Jour. So. Hist.*, VII, 343-356 (Aug., 1941).

The University of Virginia professor was assistant editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review* under Simms, and a contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger* and many other periodicals.

- [HOLMES, O. W.] Flanagan, John T. "Dr. Holmes Advises Young Ignatius Donnelly." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 59-61 (Mar., 1941).

Dr. Holmes reveals his kindly, but trenchant, wit in a letter advising young Donnelly not to rush into print with his first verses.

- Lokensgard, Hjalmar O. "Holmes Quizzes the Professor." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 157-162 (May, 1941).

Publication, with brief comment, of some Rabelaisian doggerel by Holmes.

- [IRVING, WASHINGTON] Davis, Richard Beale. "James Ogilvie and Washington Irving." *Americana*, XXXV, 435-458 (July, 1941).

"In [Irving's] extremely autobiographical 'Rosalie' and its derivative 'Mountjoy,' Ogilvie under the guise of Glencoe is made the teacher, the confidant, the stimulus for the young hero, who may be a younger Irving or the alter ego for the sentimental Irving."

- Reichart, Walter A. "Washington Irving's Friend and Collaborator: Barham John Livius, Esq." *PMLA*, LVI, 513-531 (June, 1941).

Carefully documented account of the life and character of the English dilettante with whom Irving collaborated while in Germany.

- [LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Gohdes, Clarence (comp.). "A Check-List of Volumes by Longfellow Published in the British Isles during the Nineteenth Century." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 67-69; 93-96 (Jan.-Apr., May-Aug., 1941).

Completing a list begun in the issue for Sept.-Dec., 1940.

- [MELVILLE, HERMAN] Mabbott, T. O. "A Source for the Conclusion of Melville's 'Moby Dick.'" *Notes and Queries*, CLXXXI, 47-48 (July 26, 1941).

From Southey's *Commonplace Book*, First Series, or direct from Southey's source, the Eastern voyages of Johann Albrecht Mandelslo in 1638-40.

- Purcell, James Mark. "Melville's Contribution to English." *PMLA*, LVI, 797-808 (Sept., 1941).

Two lists of 180 words which show Melville's contribution to, and influence upon, the formation of the English vocabulary.

Sealts, Merton M. "Herman Melville's 'I and My Chimney.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 142-154 (May, 1941).

The chimney is Melville's heart and soul; the secret closet is his feared hereditary bent toward insanity; the Scribe is O. W. Holmes; Dacres is his father—and the whole sketch is an allegorical account of the circumstances leading to Melville's examination for possible insanity in 1852.

White, William. "Herman Melville: A New Source?" *Notes and Queries*, CLXXX, 403 (June 7, 1941).

Melville may have used Dr. Louis A. Baker's *Harry Martingale: or, Adventures of a Whaleman in the Pacific* (Boston, 1848).

[MOTLEY, J. L.] Schantz, B. T. "Motley's 'The Chevalier de Sataniski.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 155-157 (May, 1941).

An account of a story published serially in *Graham's* (1844), of which the general ineffectiveness served to convince Motley that history rather than fiction was to be his proper medium.

[NEAL, JOHN] Rubin, Joseph J. "John Neal's Poetics as an Influence on Whitman and Poe." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 359-362 (June, 1941).

In Whitman's poetic creed there are reflections of Neal's 1825 essay in *Blackwood's*, his 1843 essay in the *Aurora*, and the prefaces to Neal's *Rachel Dyer* and the *Down-Easters*; and in Poe's "The Poetic Principle" there are passages reminiscent of Neal's papers.

[NILES, HEZEKIAH] Luxon, Norval Neil. "H. Niles, the Man and the Editor." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 27-40 (June, 1941).

A study, mainly biographical, of the editor of *Niles' Weekly Register*.

[O'HARA, THEODORE] Herbert, Major Sidney. "Col. Theodore O'Hara, Author of 'The Bivouac of the Dead'—Soldier, Orator, Poet and Journalist." *Ky. State Hist. Soc. Register*, XXXIX, 230-236 (July, 1941).

Reprinted from the *Atlanta Journal*, May 29, 1897, with a biographical sketch.

[PERCIVAL, J. G.] Coleman, Arthur Prudden. "James Gates Percival and the Slavonic Culture." *Slavia*, XVI, 65-75 (June, 1941).

"He knew too much for an amateur and too little for a professional."

[POE, E. A.] Bailey, J. O. "Poe's 'Palaestine.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 44-58 (Mar., 1941).

A parallel arrangement of Poe's essay with passages from the fifteen articles in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, which Poe used as sources, and comments interpreting Poe's choices as the result of his great attraction to the bizarre and the pseudo-learned.

Davis, Henry Campbell. "Poe's Stormy Voyage in 1827 Is Described." *News and Courier* (Charleston, S. C.), (Jan. 5, 1941).

Pittman, Diana. "Key to the Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe." *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 367-377 (Aug., 1941).

The writer claims to have evidence that Poe spent the year 1832 in England and Scotland, and that his participation in important affairs of church and state became later the hidden subjects of much that he wrote. She believes that she has unraveled Poe's system of mystification—"a metagrammed arrangement of words used by ancient writers."

Rubin, J. J. See above, *s.v.* NEAL.

Vincent, H. P. "A Sarah Helen Whitman Letter about Edgar Allan Poe." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 162-167 (May, 1941).

Publication of a letter to Griswold, 1849, now in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which is a generous defense of the poet's reputation.

Wimsatt, William K., Jr. "Poe and the Mystery of Mary Rogers." *PMLA*, LV, 230-248 (Mar., 1941).

A study of Poe's borrowing of contemporary newspaper ideas concerning the murder-mystery of Mary Rogers for the events and the solution of "The Mystery of Marie Roget."

[SHILLABER, BENJAMIN] Clemens, Cyril. "Benjamin Shillaber and His 'Carpet Bag.'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 519-537 (Sept., 1941).

The humorist and his magazine, which published "the early work of Mark Twain, Artemus Ward, John Godfrey Saxe, and John Phoenix, not to speak of considerable material by Shillaber himself."

[SIMMS, W. G.] McDavid, Raven I., Jr. "Ivanhoe and Simms' *Vasconcelos*." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LVI, 294-297 (Apr., 1941).

The influence of Scott on Simms is shown by a comparison of the Passage of Arms at Ashby in *Ivanhoe* with the tournament of Havana in *Vasconcelos*.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Straker, Robert L. "Thoreau's Journey to Minnesota." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 549-555 (Sept., 1941).

Letters by Horace Mann, Jr., who was Thoreau's companion on the excursion.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Currier, Thomas Franklin. "The Epping Oak." *The Exeter News-Letter* (Exeter, N. H.), p. 10 (June 19, 1941).

The printing of a manuscript Whittier poem, ending with the line, "Creation's loveliest 'Thyng,'" which refers to Rowena Thyng, a girl of Whittier's acquaintance.

[WOODWORTH, SAMUEL] Duffy, Charles. "Scenes of My Childhood." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 167 (May, 1941).

Woodworth may have been indebted to Byron, or to Wordsworth, or to Campbell for lines in "The Old Oaken Bucket."

### III. 1870-1900

- [ADAMS, HENRY] Jordy, William H. "Henry Adams and Walt Whitman." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XL, 132-145 (Apr., 1941).

"They are the more to be praised because, in their sincere endeavors at introspection, they transcended the America in which they found themselves."

- [CLEMENS, S. L.] Bellamy, Gladys Carmen. "Mark Twain's Indebtedness to John Phoenix." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 29-43 (Mar., 1941).

Textual evidence presented in parallel passages from Mark Twain's work, representing forty years of his life as an author, and the *Phoenixiana* of George Horatio Derby, reveals that "John Phoenix served Mark Twain well."

- [GARLAND, HAMLIN] Flanagan, John T. "Hamlin Garland, Occasional Minnesotan." *Minn. Hist.*, XXII, 157-168 (June, 1941).

Biographical information, with references to his early recognition by Minnesota friends.

- [JAMES, HENRY] Wolff, Robert Lee. "The Genesis of the 'Turn of the Screw.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 1-8 (Mar., 1941).

The sources are "The Haunted House" (a picture in *Black and White*, Christmas number, 1891), and a fragmentary story which he heard E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, tell when James visited him in January, 1895.

- [NORRIS, FRANK] Walcutt, Charles Child. "Frank Norris on Realism and Naturalism." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 61-63 (Mar., 1941).

A reply to Mr. Reninger's article on Norris in *American Literature*, for May, 1940.

- [TOURGÉE, A. W.] Nye, Russel B. "Judge Tourgée and Reconstruction." *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quar.*, L, 101-114 (Apr., 1941).

An examination of Tourgée's ideas concerning the reconstruction of the postwar South as they appeared in his novels, and an attempt to evaluate them in relation to contemporary politics.

- [WHITMAN, WALT] Falk, Robert P. "Walt Whitman and German Thought." *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, XL, 315-330 (July, 1941).

From German literary influences Whitman received: (1) a logical rationalization of New World democracy; (2) a confirmation for his transcendental thought; (3) hints for his autobiographical writing; and (4) support for his spirit of revolt.

Gohdes, Clarence. "A Note on Whitman's Use of the Bible as a Model." *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, II, 105-108 (Mar., 1941).

"Song of the Open Road," "Song of the Rolling Earth," and "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire" may have been suggested by I Corinthians 13.

Jordy, William H. See above, *s.v.* ADAMS, HENRY.

McCain, Rea (comp.). "Walt Whitman in Italy: A Bibliography." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 66-67; 92-93 (Jan.-Apr., May-Aug., 1941).

Descriptive; complete in two parts.

Morgan, Jennie A. "Early Reminiscences of Walt Whitman." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 9-17 (Mar., 1941).

An account of a night's campfire conversation between the author's great-grandfather, Ben Smith, and Whitman, not far from New Orleans in 1848 or 1849. Also editorial notes supplied by Emory Holloway.

Rubin, J. J. See above, *s.v.* NEAL.

#### IV. 1900-1941

[ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Wall, Vincent. "Maxwell Anderson: The Last Anarchist." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 339-369 (July-Sept., 1941).

Maxwell Anderson, the alien voice of the thirties, is presented as a literary craftsman and as a preacher for individualism, independence, and the frontier spirit in an age of increasing collectivism.

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Trilling, Lionel. "Sherwood Anderson." *Kenyon Rev.*, III, 293-302 (Summer, 1941).

Mr. Trilling considers Anderson a failure in many ways, but retains a residue of admiration for him, because of Anderson's consistent awareness of the need most men have for "a small legitimate existence" and of their difficulty in obtaining it.

[BEHRMAN, S. N.] Mersand, Joseph. "S. N. Behrman and the American Comedy of Manners." *Players Mag.*, XVII, 6-8 (Apr., 1941).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Beck, Warren. "Faulkner's Point of View." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 736-749 (May, 1941).

A realistic approach to his work will show the coherent rationality and humanity of Faulkner's point of view in his characters' refusal to surrender principle and in his own idealization of honesty and justice.

SCHWARTZ, DELMORE. "The Fiction of William Faulkner," *So. Rev.*, VII, 145-160 (Summer, 1941).

A generally approving criticism of Faulkner's works, commenting particularly on his obsession with "the endless horror and irrationality of life."

[GREEN, PAUL] Isaacs, Edith J. R. "Paul Green—a Case in Point." *Theatre Arts*, XXV, 489-498 (July, 1941).

The history of Paul Green's rise in the theater.

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Daiches, David. "Ernest Hemingway." *Coll. Eng.*, II, 735-736 (May, 1941).

Critical estimates of Hemingway's works from *In Our Time* to *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, with the conclusion that "his style has gained, his philosophy has achieved unity."

[HOWARD, SIDNEY] Clark, Barrett H. "Letters from Sidney Howard." *Theatre Arts*, XXV, 276-286 (Apr., 1941).

Materials for a forthcoming biography of Sidney Howard.

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Short, R. W. "The Tower Beyond Tragedy." *So. Rev.*, VII, 132-134 (Summer, 1941).

Affirms that the supposed "philosophical content" of Robinson Jeffers's poetry is bogus, largely because of the confusion existing between Jeffers's philosophizing and his esthetic and temperamental inclinations.

White, William. ["Some Unnoticed Jeffers Poems"]. *Papers Bibl. Soc. Amer.*, XXXIV, 362-363 (Dec., 1940).

Data on six poems (five of them signed) by Robinson Jeffers, printed in student publications of the University of Southern California in 1905-1906.

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Stolbert, Benjamin. "Sinclair Lewis." *Amer. Mercury*, LIII, 450-460 (Oct., 1941).

A profile of Lewis as a great folk satirist in the American tradition.

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Blackburn, Clara. "Continental Influences on Eugene O'Neill's Expressionistic Dramas." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 103-133 (May, 1941).

"O'Neill's indebtedness to Continental expressionistic dramas and dramatists, especially to Strindberg, is greater than has been generally recognized." This debt, however, does not diminish O'Neill's stature as a dramatic artist.

[SAROYAN, WILLIAM] Mersand, Joseph. "William Saroyan and the American Imagination." *Players Mag.*, XVII, 9 (Jan., 1941).

[WYLIE, ELINOR] Cluck, Julia. "Elinor Wylie's Shelley Obsession." *PMLA*, LVI, 841-860 (Sept., 1941).

A detailed examination of *The Orphan Angel* (1926), *Mr. Hodge and Mr. Hazard* (1928), and poems concerned directly with Shelley, with the conclusion that "Shelley was the influence that shaped Elinor Wylie's life and mind."

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

- Boggs, R. S. "Folklore Bibliography for 1940." *So. Folklore Quar.*, V, 39-76 (Mar., 1941).

An annotated list of books, pamphlets, and articles, including those in American folklore.

- Hefflin, Woodford A., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., and Treviño, S. N. (comps.). "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech*, XVI, 137-143; 220-227 (Apr. and Oct., 1941).

Annotated bibliography of books, articles, and pamphlets on Present-Day English, General and Historical Studies, and Phonetics.

VI. GENERAL

- Bond, Donald F., and Tucker, Joseph E. (comps.) "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies. A Current Bibliography." *Romanic Rev.*, XXXII, 176-198 (Apr., 1941).

- Burgum, Edwin B. "Literary Form: Social Forces and Innovations." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 325-338 (July-Sept., 1941).

Certain novelties in the structure of contemporary literature, especially the fiction and the drama of common life, point to the emergence of a new literary form.

- Cassady, Edward E. "Muckraking in the Gilded Age." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 134-141 (May, 1941).

Comment on a score of representative muckraking novels and essays of the late nineteenth century to show that "We have fallen into a serious misconception . . . in assuming that the muckraking era (1900-1915) followed a long period of public and literary complacency toward social evils."

- DuBois, Arthur E. "The Art of Fiction." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XL, 112-122 (Apr., 1941).

Numerous applications are made to the critical writings and the fiction of Poe, Hawthorne, James, Henry B. Fuller, Mary Austin, Cabell, Tarkington, Dreiser, and others.

- Eaton, Clement. "The Humor of the Southern Yeoman." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 173-183 (Apr.-June, 1941).

The writings of Longstreet, Thompson, Hooper, Baldwin, Harris, and other ante-bellum humorists "present a counterpoise to the romantic stereotype lavishly elaborated in recent novels and call attention to the fact that there was a large and important middle class in the Old South, the yeomanry."

- Foster, Edward. "A Note on Standards." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 305-312 (July-Sept., 1941).

Since adequate literary history cannot be written without reference to standards, those interested in the reformulation of concepts concerning American literature must establish a prospective standard of judgment.

Gates, William Bryan. "The Theatre in Natchez." *Jour. Miss. Hist.*, III, 71-129 (Apr., 1941).

Professional productions from 1809 to 1850, totaling six or seven hundred performances.

Houtchens, Lawrence H. "Charles Dickens and International Copyright." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 18-28 (Mar., 1941).

The petition to Congress which Dickens and twenty-five American authors drew up in New York in 1842 is given (never heretofore published), as well as an interpretation of Dickens's unsuccessful efforts in behalf of international copyright.

Huggins, Kathryn. "Aframerican Fiction." *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 315-320 (July, 1941).

Sixty-seven books of fiction have been written by American Negroes.

Jones, Claude E. (comp.). "Collected Biographies to 1825." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 90-92 (May-Aug., 1941).

Part I of a short-title check-list.

Kouwenhoven, John A. "Arts in America." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXVIII, 175-180 (Aug., 1941).

"In literature and in architecture, the two arts in which Americans have most widely participated, our artistic history is revealed as the interpenetration, and alternating ascendancy, of a cultivated and a vernacular tradition."

MacLeish, Archibald. "The American Writers and the New World." *Yale Rev.*, XXXI, 61-77 (Sept., 1941).

The "inadequacies of American literature over many generations" were caused by the acceptance of "the colonial theory," by authors who thought of "adding to the tradition of English literature." The present generation is producing novelists and poets who have mastered the experience of living men, and the writers of the future will "reduce to sunlight and recognition the shadowy chaos of our world."

Pochmann, Henry A., et al. (comps.). "Anglo-German Bibliography for 1941." *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XL, 263-276 (Apr., 1941).

Pressly, Thomas J. "Agrarianism: An Autopsy." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 145-163 (Apr.-June, 1941).

The issue of Southern agrarianism versus industrialism is traced from *I'll Take My Stand* (1930) to the present.



Rabinovitz, Albert L. "Criticism of French Novels in Boston Magazines: 1830-1860." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 488-504 (Sept., 1941).

The criticism of French novels in Boston magazines was more liberal than that in other sections of the country.

Slochow, Harry. "Freud and Marx in Contemporary Literature." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 316-324 (July-Sept., 1941).

Smith, Rebecca W. (comp.). "Catalogue of the Chief Novels and Short Stories by American Authors Dealing with the Civil War and Its Effects, 1861-1899" (concluded). *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVII, 72-75 (Jan.-Apr., 1941).

Stearns, Raymond P. "Assessing the New England Mind." *Church Hist.*, X, 246-262 (Sept., 1941).

A review of recent studies, and a plea for more scholarly investigations.

Walcutt, Charles C. "Regionalism—Practical or Aesthetic?" *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 165-172 (Apr.-June, 1941).

The writer can be esthetically regional only by not trying to be so. If he is aware of his region, he is bound to do full justice to it as he deals with more universal problems.

Wheeler, Joseph Towne. "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland, 1700-1776." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI, 184-201 (June, 1941).

"A survey of the private libraries of the professional classes [shows] that books were an essential part of the equipment of the clergy, doctors and lawyers in colonial Maryland."

Winton, Harry N. M. (comp.). "A Pacific Northwest Bibliography, 1940." *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, XXII, 203-214 (Apr., 1941).

Sections are devoted to literature and biography.

Wittke, Carl. "The American Theme in Continental European Literature." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 3-26 (June, 1941).

A rapid survey, closing with the suggestion that here is a field of study on which the students of history and the students of literature may profitably combine their research techniques.

## JURGEN AND FIGURES OF EARTH AND THE RUSSIAN SKAZKI

PAUL G. BREWSTER

*Bloomfield, Indiana*

Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairy Tales* (in, thank heaven, a complete version such as is comparatively rare) and Ralston's *Russian Fairy Tales*, which were thoroughly assimilated at 7 or thereabouts, have remained almost my favorite reading ever since.<sup>1</sup>

WITH THESE words of high praise, Mr. Cabell gives to the reader of his tales of Poictesme one of the rare clues to his sources. To one who wishes to learn something of these sources but who staggers and grows faint mentally at the thought of their number and variety, ranging as they do from Suetonius to Dickens, from Malory to Flaubert and Villon,<sup>2</sup> the above acknowledgment of indebtedness is doubly welcome.

The influence of the skazki is threefold. There is, first, a sometimes very strongly marked similarity of language. This influence is particularly noticeable in *Jurgen*, as will appear later. Second, there is a direct borrowing of motifs and episodes from the Russian tales. And, third, we find in both *Jurgen* and *Figures of Earth* the borrowing of such names as Koshchei the Deathless, the Leshy, the Zhar-Pitza, and others.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the first of these influences more evident

<sup>1</sup> I regret my inability to give the source of this quotation, which I excerpted from a review some years ago. Mr. Cabell writes me: ". . . I have no least notion as to where was made the statement accredited to me. That I made it is certain; I endorse it today; and I dimly recall that it appeared in an interview, somewhere, a good while ago; but neither when nor where can I recollect. . . . I can but assure you the Andersen-Ralston statement was made, somewhere, and I still treasure both the books."

<sup>2</sup> In *Jurgen* and *Figures of Earth*, Cabell has drawn upon the following works, among others: Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* and *Legends of Old Testament Characters*; Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*; Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology*; Balzac, *Contes Drolatiques*; Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum (Lives of the Twelve Caesars)*; *The Famous History of Dr. Faustus*; Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*; Middleton's *The Witch*; the *Mabinogion*; Lewis, *François Villon*; Tooke, *The Pantheon of Heathen Gods*; Ralston, *Russian Fairy Tales*; Andersen, *Fairy Tales*; Flaubert, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*; Edwardes and Spence, *A Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology*; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*; Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*; *The Prose Edda*; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*; the Grimm *Kinder- u. Hausmärchen*; and *Lochrine*, of the Shakespeare *Apocrypha*. In addition, there may be some slight indebtedness also to Davenant's *Gondibert*, the *Idylls* of Theocritus, and Rabelais.

than in the Foreword of *Jurgen*, much of which follows almost word for word a passage in the Preface of Ralston's *Russian Fairy Tales*.<sup>3</sup>

In Continental periodicals not more than a dozen articles in all would seem to have given accounts or partial translations of the Jurgen legends. No thorough investigation of this epos can be said to have appeared in print, anywhere, prior to the publication, in 1913, of the monumental *Synopses of Aryan Mythology* by Angelo de Ruiz. . . . Professor de Ruiz has given . . . a summary of the greater part of these legends as contained in the collections of Verville and Bülg;<sup>4</sup> and has discussed at length and with much learning the esoteric meaning of these folk-stories and their bearing upon questions to which the "solar theory" of myth explanation has given rise. To his volume, and to the pages of Mr. Lewistam's<sup>5</sup> *Key to the Popular Tales of Poictesme*, must be referred all those who may elect to think of Jurgen as the resplendent, journeying and procreative sun. . . . With the origin and the occult meaning of the folklore of Poictesme this book at least is in no wise concerned; its unambitious aim has been merely to familiarize English readers with the Jurgen epos for the tale's sake . . . the historic and mythological problems perhaps involved are relinquished to those really thoroughgoing scholars whom erudition qualifies to deal with such topics. . . .

Of late years several articles have appeared in some of the German periodicals, giving accounts or translations of some of the Russian Popular Tales. But no thorough investigation of them appeared in print, out of Russia, until the publication last year of the erudite work on "Zoological Mythology" by Professor Angelo de Gubernatis. In it he has given a summary of the greater part of the stories contained in the collections of Afanasief and Erlenwein. . . . Professor Gubernatis has discussed at length, and with much learning, the esoteric meaning of the skazkas, and their bearing upon the questions to which the "solar theory" of myth explanation has given rise. To his volumes, and to those of Mr. Cox, I refer all who are interested in those fascinating enquiries. My chief aim has been to familiarize English readers with the Russian folk-tale; the historical and

<sup>3</sup> I have used the 1873 edition of Ralston's collection, the 1919 Kalki edition of *Jurgen*, and the 1921 edition of *Figures of Earth*. From this point on, Ralston will be referred to as R, *Jurgen* as J, and *Figures of Earth* as FE.

<sup>4</sup> Like Verville, Codman, and Prote, Bülg is one of Mr. Cabell's imaginary scholars. He may be the Professor Jülg mentioned in R (p. 8 n.) as a collaborator with Reinhold Köhler.

<sup>5</sup> Cranwell and Cover (*Notes on Figures of Earth*, p. 4) find no original for Mr. John Frederick Lewistam, the noted authority upon Poictesme. My guess is that he is F. H. Lewestam, who translated into German under the title *Polnische Volkssagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1839) the Polish collection of K. W. Woycicki.

mythological problems involved in it can be discussed at a later period. Before long, in all probability, a copious flood of light will be poured upon the connexion of the Popular Tales of Russia with those of other lands by one of those scholars who are best qualified to deal with the subject.

In Chapter I ("Why Jurgen Did the Manly Thing") we find the following similarities:

J, p. 10 "Thanks, Jurgen, for your good word."

"Who are you, and why do you thank me?" asks Jurgen.

R, p. 47 "Thanks, Petrusha, for your good word."

"Who are you, and why do you thank me?" asks Petrusha.

J, p. 11 "How I will reward you, to be sure!"

R, p. 47 "How I will reward you to be sure!"

J, p. 11 "No matter, Jurgen, the morning is brighter than the evening."

R, p. 136 "No matter! lie down and sleep; the morning is wiser than the evening."

p. 137 "That's nothing! lie down and sleep; the morning is wiser than the evening."<sup>6</sup>

J, p. 12 And sure enough, there was Jurgen's wife walking in the twilight and *muttering incessantly*.

R, p. 365 Before he had been there long, some one rode up to the door of the hut, got off his horse, entered the hut, and remained there all night, *muttering incessantly*: "May the Lord judge my mother, in that she cursed me while a babe unborn!"

There is, too, a strong resemblance between Cabell's description of Sereda in Chapter VI ("Showing that Sereda Is Feminine") and the description of the same lady in the Russian tales:

J, p. 39 . . . *a woman, no longer young, dressed all in blue, and wearing a white towel by way of head-dress. . . .*

R, p. 209 *A woman, no longer young, wearing a white towel by way of head-dress. . . .*

An examination of *Figures of Earth* reveals equally striking similarities of expression. Thus, upon our first encounter with Manuel, we note how closely the description of his merrymaking parallels that of Marusia's uncanny suitor in "The Fiend":

<sup>6</sup> "The morning is wiser than the evening" appears also in R, pp. 163 and 164.

FE, p. 3 . . . and when the young people gathered in the evening to drink brandy and eat nuts and gingerbread, nobody danced more merrily than Squinting Manuel.

R, p. 25 Thereupon he pulled out of his pocket a purse full of gold, ordered liquor, nuts and gingerbread. . . . Then he took to dancing. Why, it was a treat to look at him!

The following passages supply further evidence of this kind of influence:

FE, p. 12 "Our elders, Manuel, declare that such self-conceit is a fault, and our elders, they say, are wiser than we."

R, p. 262 We say that we are wise folks, but our old people dispute the fact, saying: "No, no, we were wiser than you are."

FE, p. 14 The snake [the Serpent of the East] rode on a black horse, a black falcon perched on his head, and a black hound followed him.

R, p. 78 In one story we see him [the Snake] riding on horseback, with hawk on wrist [or raven on shoulder] and hound at heel.

FE, p. 14 The horse stumbled, the falcon clamored, the hound howled.

R, p. 80 His [the Snake's] steed stumbled, his hound howled, his falcon clamored.

FE, p. 14 Then said the snake: "My steed, why do you stumble? my hound, why do you howl? and my falcon, why do you clamor?"

R, p. 80 Then cried the Snake: "Wherefore hast thou stumbled, O Steed! hast thou howled, O Hound! hast thou clamored, O Falcon?"

FE, p. 171 Then said a *thin little voice*, "Manuel, open the door!"

R, p. 194 "Is it you that's helping me to sing with that *thin little voice*?"

FE, p. 169 Count Manuel skirted the Wolflake, and came to a hut, painted gray, that stood clear of the ground, upon the bones of four great birds' feet.

R, p. 80 He rode and rode, and presently there stood before him a hut on fowl's legs, and in that hut lived the Snake.<sup>7</sup>

The skazki from which Cabell has borrowed motifs and incidents are "The Awful Drunkard" (R, No. VI), "Ivan Popyalof" (R, No.

<sup>7</sup> For other references to huts on fowl's legs, see pp. 79, 147, and 153. "On fowl's legs" is an allusion to the slender supports on which the hut stands.

XIV), "Marya-Morevna" (R, No. XVI), "Koshchei the Deathless" (R, No. XVII), "Woe" (R, No. XXV), "Wednesday" (R, No. XXVII), "The Stepmother's Daughter and the Stepdaughter" (Khudyakof, No. 13). Occasionally his works show a familiarity with a few others, but the influence of these latter is comparatively slight. In Chapter I of *Jurgen*, the author has telescoped two Russian tales concerning people who have been carried off by the devil. One is "The Awful Drunkard," the other an unnamed tale from Afanasief.<sup>8</sup> The first part of the chapter resembles the former story. As Jurgen is passing by the Cistercian Abbey, a monk trips over a stone in the roadway and begins to curse the devil who placed it there.<sup>9</sup> Jurgen rebukes the monk for his harsh words, reminding him that the devils have enough to bear without being under his curse besides. Jurgen continues on his way and is met by a black gentleman,<sup>10</sup> who thanks him for his good words and promises him a reward. From this point on, the author seems to have used the second story. When Jurgen returns home, his wife is gone. He looks everywhere and questions everyone, but to no avail. His wife has unaccountably vanished while in the act of cooking supper. Some time later there arises a rumor that she has been seen walking on Morven. Her brother goes thither to see whether there is any truth in the report. He sees her walking in

<sup>8</sup> Told in R, p. 364.

<sup>9</sup> The monk says in reply to Jurgen's rebuke, "I never held with Origen." One of Sir Thomas Browne's annotations to his *Religio Medici* reads: "Besides St. Augustine, Epiphanius and Saint Hierom relate that Origen held that, not only the souls of men, but the devils themselves, should be discharged from tortures after a certain time . . ." (*The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Simon Wilkin, London, 1888, II, 330).

<sup>10</sup> Koshchei is definitely the devil. Cabell writes (*Silver Stallion*, p. 350), "For Jurgen recalled that only last month he had become involved in a somewhat perturbing experience on account of having spoken extempore in praise of the Devil." The black color of Koshchei is perhaps to be explained by R, pp. 362-363, where reference is made to "the black or evil god." Reinach (*Orpheus: A History of Religions*, p. 154) speaks of ". . . a Slav god called Zcernoboch, 'the black god.'" It is this deity who is twice invoked by mad Ulrica in the stronghold of Front-de-Boeuf, first when she curses the dying knight and again when she chants her death song atop the battlements. It will be noted that she places him in the Saxon pantheon.

" . . . May Mista, Skogula, and Zerneck, gods of the ancient Saxons—fiends, as the priests now call them—supply the place of comforters at your dying bed, which Ulrica now relinquishes!"

" . . . . .  
Whet the steel, the ravens croak!  
Light the torch, Zerneck is yelling!  
Whet the steel, sons of the Dragon!  
Kindle the torch, daughter of Hengist!"

*Ivanhoe* (Dryburgh ed., 1893), pp. 285, 288.

the twilight and muttering to herself. She bids him follow her. He follows her to Amneran Heath, but knows better than to go farther. The next night Dame Lisa's sister goes to Morven. She follows Dame Lisa not only to the Heath but across it and to a cave, into which the latter disappears. The sister then returns home. The next evening, which is Walburga's Eve, Jurgen himself goes to Morven and follows his wife to the cave, and, after having thrown away his cross at her command, follows her into it. Then begins a long chain of adventures which results in his finally discovering Dame Lisa and bringing her home.

In "The Awful Drunkard" a sottish fellow tries to make his way home while drunk, but falls into the river. His son Petrusha becomes head of the family. Going to church one day, Petrusha sees a woman stumble over a stone and hears her launch into a tirade against the devil for having placed it under her feet. He rebukes her for blaming the devil. As he returns from church, he encounters a fine-looking gentleman, who tells him that he is the devil, thanks him for rebuking the woman, and promises him a reward. At the devil's invitation, Petrusha visits Hell, and there finds his father transformed into a horse. By obeying the instructions of a maiden who has also been carried away by the devil, Petrusha succeeds in releasing his father and restoring him to his proper shape.

In the second tale a young man is carried away by the devil because his mother has cursed him before his birth. A beggar finds him in a hut in the wood, crying ceaselessly upon God to punish his mother. The beggar tells the parents of his discovery, and the old man goes in search of his son. He follows him until the son rides his horse through a hole in the ice. The next night the mother goes, but meets with no better success. On the third night his young wife follows him to the ice-hole and then, taking off her cross at his injunction, leaps into the hole after him. She finds herself in a vast hall, in which Satan is seated. Upon learning their story, the devil releases both, saying that married people must not be separated.

The latter part of Jurgen's quest for his wife seems to owe something to "The Bad Wife" (R, No. VII):

J, p. 287 And he sighed and went among the devils tentatively looking and inquiring for that intrepid fiend who in the form of a black gentleman had carried off Dame Lisa. But a queer happening befell,

and it was nowhere could Jurgen find the black gentleman, nor did any of the devils know anything about him. "From what you tell us, Emperor Jurgen," said they all, "your wife was an acidulous shrew, and the sort of woman who believes that whatever she does is right." "It was not a belief," says Jurgen; "it was a mania with the poor dear." "By that fact, then, she is forever debarred from entering Hell. . . . Plainly, this wife of yours is the sort of person who cannot be tolerated by anybody short of the angels. We deduce that your Empress must be in Heaven."<sup>11</sup>

R, p. 52 A wife is stubborn and opposes her husband's wishes in everything. One day the latter sees by a currant bush a bottomless pit, and conceives the idea of making his wife jump into it. He warns her not to go into the wood for berries, telling her particularly to avoid a certain currant bush. She, of course, goes to it straightway and falls into the pit. After three days, the husband lowers a cord into the pit, and out climbs a terrified little devil, who pleads with the husband to help him escape from a bad wife who has come to hell and is worrying the wits out of the inhabitants. The husband releases him. When later the devil begins to do mischief in the village, the man tricks him into going back to hell by telling him that the bad wife has escaped and is now back on earth.<sup>12</sup>

A part of the story "Wednesday" appears in Chapter VI ("Showing that Sereda Is Feminine"). Jurgen passes through a forest, finally arriving at a great stone house, where he seeks shelter. In a large hall he finds "a woman, no longer young, dressed all in blue, and wearing a white towel by way of head-dress." She is busy assorting curiously colored clothes. In reply to his queries, she tells him that her business is to bleach and that in time she will bleach the garment he is wearing. Jurgen then composes and sings to her a song in praise of the days of the week, stressing the importance of Sereda (Wednesday)<sup>13</sup> but omitting to mention her sister Pan-

<sup>11</sup> There appears to be another trace of "The Bad Wife" in this line, "I am looking for my wife, whom I suspect to have been carried off by a devil, poor fellow!" (J, p. 15). Cf. R, p. 113.

<sup>12</sup> The ballad counterpart is "The Farmer's Cursed Wife" (Child, No. 278); the story is widespread both in ballad and tale. Cf. Benfey's edition of the *Panchatantra*, I, 519-534; Gibb, *The History of the Forty Vezirs*, p. 288; Kunos, *Turkish Fairy Tales* (ed. Bain), p. 196; Stevens, *Folk-Tales of Iraq*, p. 120; Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, I, 382; IV, 176, n. 1; *Folklore Fellows Communications*, XV, No. 332 (Spanish); LXXVIII, No. 1164 (Rumanian); *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, IV, 174; *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, XV, 104; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 152. Literary versions are to be found in Machiavelli's *The Story of Belphegor* and in Straparola.

<sup>13</sup> *Sereda* is the Russian word for *middle*, applied to Wednesday because that day is the middle of the working week (cf. the German *Mittwoch*). It is worth noting that



delis (Monday), a slight which Sereda warns may bring upon him the wrath of Pandelis. Since Jurgen was born on Wednesday, he makes bold to ask Sereda for a christening gift. She offers him jewelry, saying that hers are all the sapphires and turquoises and everything else that is blue,<sup>14</sup> but he asks her for a Wednesday instead, specifying that it be a Wednesday in August of a certain year. After attempting to dissuade him, and offering him a blue bird (Happiness?), which he will not accept, she grants his request.

According to the "Wednesday" story, a young wife, eager to finish her spinning, spins until after midnight on Tuesday, calling upon Mother Wednesday to wake her early the next morning so that she can do the rest. Early the next morning she hears someone moving about the room. She sees "a woman, no longer young, wearing a white towel by way of head-dress," putting wood into the stove. The figure rouses the young wife, who asks, "Who are you?" The other replies that she is Wednesday, adding, "I have spun thy linen and woven thy web; now let us bleach it and set it in the oven. The oven is heated and the irons are ready; do thou go down to the brook and draw water." The young wife takes the pails, but goes instead to the house of an aged neighbor, to whom she tells what has happened. At the latter's suggestion, she beats the pails together in front of the house, crying, "Wednesday's children have been burnt at sea!" whereupon Wednesday rushes out of the house to look. The wife springs inside, bars the door, and sets a cross upon it. Wednesday cries, "Let me in, my dear! I have

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Ralston, too, omits Pandelis from his list, but gives all the rest: Nedelya = Sunday, Vtornik = Tuesday, Sereda = Wednesday, Chetverg = Thursday, Pyatinka = Friday, and Subbota = Saturday. Obviously Cabell used Ralston first, then supplied Pandelis from another source.

<sup>14</sup> Just why all the blue things on earth belong to Sereda is not quite clear. In *Jurgen* the lady is dressed in blue, has a blue bird and a blue he-goat, and wears a blue comb in her hair. In Lithuanian folklore there is a "patron" of all blue things (see *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "patron").

"The Hermetic Brethren had certain rules that were observed in relation to this view of the power of precious stones to bring good or bad fortune through the planetary affinities of certain days, because they imagined that the various gems, equally as gold and silver, were produced through the chemic operation of the planets working secretly in the telluric body . . . On Monday, pearls and white stones (but not diamonds) are to be worn, because this is the day of the Moon, or of the 2nd power in Nature . . . Wednesday is the day for turquoises, sapphires, and all precious stones which seem to reflect the blue of the vault of heaven, and that imply the lucent azure of the supposed spiritual atmosphere wherein, or under which, the Rosicrucian sylphs dwell . . ." (H. Jennings, *The Rosicrucians*, pp. 204-205).

spun thy linen; now will I bleach it." She continues knocking and calling until cockcrow, when she shrieks and disappears.

"Old Toys and a New Shadow" employs an episode from one of the stories of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.<sup>15</sup> Jurgen sees in a cave what appear to be the recumbent effigies of several women. Upon touching them, however, he discovers that the supposed stone is really human flesh and that each woman is one whom he has once loved.

Saktideva, the hero of the Oriental tale, arrives at the Golden City after long travel, and is welcomed by the princess as her destined husband. She warns him, however, not to ascend the central terrace of her palace. Of course he does so, and finds there three chambers, in each of which lies the lifeless form of a beautiful maiden. In one of the latter he recognizes his first love.

In Chapter XXXVII of *Jurgen* ("Invention of the Lovely Vampire") the author makes use of Ralston's notes and not of a specific tale. The following passages show with what fidelity Cabell here keeps close to his source:

J, p. 269 ". . . I chanced one day to fall ill and die . . . and as my funeral was leaving the house the cat jumped over my coffin . . . my sister-in-law was foolishly attached to the cat. So they did not kill it, and I, of course, became a vampire."

R, p. 327 The leaping of a cat or some other animal across a corpse, even the flight of a bird above it, may turn the innocent defunct into a ravenous demon.

p. 327 n. . . . Mr. Henderson states, on the authority of "an old Northumbrian hind," that "in one case, just as a funeral was about to leave the house, the cat jumped over the coffin, and no one would move till the cat was destroyed."

J, p. 270 Then Florimel told Jurgen of her horrible awakening in the grave, and of what had befallen her hands and feet there, the while that against her will she fed repugnantly, destroying first her kindred and then the neighbors. This done, she had risen.

R, p. 325 The Kashoubes say that when a . . . Vampire wakes from his sleep within the grave, he begins to gnaw his hands and feet; and as he gnaws, one after another, first his relations, then his other neighbors, sicken and die.

<sup>15</sup> See N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story: Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (10 vols.; London, 1924-28). The story in question is told in II, 222-223.

J, p. 270 "For the cattle still lived and that troubled me. When I had put an end to this annoyance, I climbed into the church belfry . . . and at midnight I sounded the bell so that all who heard it would sicken and die."

R, p. 325 When he has finished his own store of flesh, he rises at midnight and destroys cattle, or climbs a belfry and sounds the bell. All who hear the ill-omened tones will soon die.

J, p. 275 Jurgen stroked her head meditatively; then he opened his glittering shirt, and displayed what was plain enough to see.

"I am full of vigor and I am young," said Jurgen, "but my vigor and my youthfulness are of a peculiar sort, and are not wholesome. So let us have no more of your tricks, or you will quite spoil your vacation by being very ill indeed. . . ."

So thereafter they had no further trouble of this sort, and the wound on Jurgen's breast was soon healed.

R, p. 325 But generally he sucks the blood of sleepers. Those on whom he has operated will be found next morning dead, with a very small wound on the left side of the breast, exactly over the heart.

Chapter II of *Figures of Earth* ("He Finds Niafer") draws rather heavily upon "Koshchei the Deathless." In both we find, for instance, the external soul or life:

FE, p. 14 ". . . I have been to the Island of Oaks; and under the twelfth oak was a copper casket, and in the casket was a purple duck, and in the duck was an egg; and in the egg, O Norka, was and is your death."

"It is true that my death is in such an egg," said the Serpent of the East. . . .

R, p. 114 "Whereabouts is your death, O Koshchei?"

"My death," he replied, "is in such a place. There stands an oak, and under the oak is a casket, and in the casket is a hare, and in the hare is a duck, and in the duck is an egg, and in the egg is my death."

Death (or the threat of death) is brought about by squeezing the egg in which the life lies:

FE, p. 14 ". . . when I break this egg you will die. . . ."

The serpent looked at the poised egg, and he trembled and writhed so that his black scales scattered everywhither scintillations of reflected sunlight. He cried, "Give me the egg, and I will permit you two to pass unmolested to a more terrible destruction."

R, p. 115 Then Prince Ivan began squeezing the egg, and thereupon

Koshchei the Deathless bent double. At last Prince Ivan came out from his hiding-place, held up the egg and said, "There is your death, O Koshchei the Deathless!"

Then Koshchei fell on his knees before him, saying, "Don't kill me, Prince Ivan! Let's be friends! All the world will be at our feet."

But these words had no weight with Prince Ivan. He smashed the egg, and Koshchei the Deathless died.

The influence of "Woe" is evident in Chapter XIX ("The Head of Misery") as is also that of "The Stepmother's Daughter and the Stepdaughter." Here again the author has telescoped two stories into one, this time using two quite different in theme. In the former, a poor man works a week for his brother, a rich man, is given a loaf of bread, and is invited to be present at the brother's nameday feast. The poor man and his wife attend the feast, but are offered no food. As they are on their way home, the poor man tries to cheer himself up by singing. He hears a second voice, which he thinks is that of his wife until she tells him that she is not singing. He then discovers that the second singer is Woe. Under the malign influence of Woe, the poor man loses the few possessions he has. At last, however, Woe helps him to find a heap of gold under a stone. The poor man takes the gold, pitches Woe into the pit and closes the opening with a stone, then goes home. He is soon twice as rich as his brother, and invites the latter to his nameday feast. At the insistence of the second brother, the erstwhile poor man tells how he has become rich. The second brother releases Woe, who promptly begins to serve him as he had done the other. By means of a trick, Woe is finally wedged into a wheel and thrown into the river to drown. After this, the second brother begins to prosper once more.

"The Stepmother's Daughter and the Stepdaughter" runs as follows: A woman who hates her stepdaughter orders her husband, the girl's father, to make away with her. The husband, a wood-cutter, takes the girl to a hut in the forest, bidding her to prepare some soup while he is at work. Instead of cutting wood, however, he goes home. Presently she calls to her father that the soup is ready. She gets no reply from him, but a Head in the forest calls, "I'm coming!" At the command of the Head, the girl opens the door, lifts the head over the threshold, places it on a bench so that it can eat the soup, and then removes it to the floor, where

it falls asleep. She, too, falls asleep, and the Head returns to the forest for its servants. Servants appear in the hut, and the hut itself becomes larger and finer. Then the servants come to the girl and tell her that it is time to go for a drive. She enters the carriage with the Head, but takes a cock with her. Three times she bids the cock crow, and each time it obeys her. When it crows the third time, the Head falls to pieces and becomes a heap of golden coins.

Cabell's use of these two skazki, and the way in which he combines them, may be seen in these passages:

FE, p. 170 Manuel kindled a fire and prepared the proper kind of soup; and at sunset he went to the window of the hut, and cried three times that supper was ready.

One answered him, "I am coming". . . .

Then said a thin little voice, "Manuel, open the door!"

One spoke at his feet. "Manuel, lift me over the threshold!". . . .

Dom Manuel . . . could see a human head. He raised the head and carried it into the hut. He could now perceive that the head was made of white clay, and could deduce that the Misery of the earth, whom some call Beda, and others Kruchina, had come to him.<sup>16</sup>

"Now, Manuel," says Misery, "do you give me my supper."

So Manuel set the head upon the table, and put a platter of soup before the head, and fed the soup to Misery with a gold spoon.

When the head had supped, it bade Manuel place it in the little bamboo cradle, and told Manuel to put out the lights. . . . Presently the head was snoring, and then Manuel too went to sleep. . . .

FE, p. 188 Then Manuel bound the clay head of Misery in the two handkerchiefs which were wet with the tears of Alianora and of Freydis. When the cock had crowed three times, Dom Manuel unbound the head, and it was only a shapeless mass of white clay, because of the tears of Freydis and Alianora.

FE, p. 193 And Misery replied:

"Take no fear for not seeing me again, now that you are about once more to become human. Certainly, Niafer, I must leave you for a little while, but certainly I shall return. . . ."

R, p. 195 "Very good, master! I'll never depart from you now."

p. 198 "Now will I never on any account depart from you."

<sup>16</sup> At this point the author begins the process of amalgamation. In the original story the Head is unnamed, nor does it bring misery, at least not for long. The "thin little voice" is also from the story of *Woe*.

The allusion in *Figures of Earth* to the basilisk-like gaze of the Vy seems also to come from Ralston:

FE, p. xiii Thus even the irregularity in Manuel's eyes<sup>17</sup> is taken by Vanderhoffen, in his *Tudor Tales*, to be a myth connecting Manuel with the Vedic Rudra and the Russian Magarko and the Servian Vii,—“and every beneficent storm-god represented with his eye perpetually winking (like sheet lightning), lest his concentrated look (the thunderbolt) should reduce the universe to ashes. . . .”

R, p. 84 . . . the mythical being whom the Servians call the Vy. He “lies on an iron couch, and sees nothing; his long eyelashes and thick eyebrows completely hide his eyes,” but he sends for “twelve mighty heroes,” and orders them to take iron forks and lift up the hair about his eyes, and then he gazes at the destroyer of his family. The glance of the Servian Vy is supposed to be as deadly as that of a basilisk. . . .

The macabre bit of description which begins Chapter IX (“The Feather of Love”) is reminiscent of that in “Marya-Morevna”:

FE, p. 72 This land, reputed sorcerous, in no way displayed to him any unusual features, though it was noticeable that the King's marmoreal palace was fenced with silver pikes whereon were set the embalmed heads of young men who had wooed the Princess Alianora unsuccessfully.

R, p. 104 Hungry and faint he wandered on, walked farther and farther, and at last came to where stood the house of the Baba Yaga. Round the house were set twelve poles in a circle, and on each of eleven of these poles was stuck a human head, the twelfth alone remained unoccupied.

p. 105 “Mind, Prince! if you don't take good care of the mares, if you lose merely one of them—your bold head will be stuck on that pole!”

The location of Queen Freydis's realm recalls that of a certain Baba Yaga's home:

FE, p. 125 “Freydis am I, the dread high Queen of Audela,<sup>18</sup> the Queen of all that lies behind this veil of human sight and sense. This veil may not ever be lifted, but very often the veil is pierced, and noting the broken place, men call it fire. . . .”

p. 136 Then Freydis sprang from Manuel, toward the flames beyond which she was queen of ancient mysteries, and beyond which her will was neither to loose nor to bind.

R, p. 103 “Beyond thrice nine lands, in the thirtieth kingdom, *on the other side of the fiery river*, there lives a Baba Yaga. . . .”

<sup>17</sup> See pp. 5, 55, 64, 73, 106, 147, 190, 217, and elsewhere.

<sup>18</sup> Audela = *au de là* (over there). Cf. “on the other side of the fiery river.”

The depicting of Alianora as a Swan Maiden may have been suggested by Ralston's description of the latter.

FE, p. 51 ". . . that would be Alianora the Unattainable Princess. Thus she comes across the Bay of Biscay, traveling from the far land of Provence, in, they say, the appearance of a swan. . . ."

p. 75 ". . . my daughter can no longer go abroad in the appearance of a swan. . . ."

R, p. 129 In the Skazkas we find frequent mention of beautiful maidens . . . who can transform themselves into birds and fly wherever they please. We may perhaps be allowed to designate them by the well-known name of Swan-Maidens. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Supernatural beings borrowed by Cabell from the skazki include the Norka, the Leshy, Koshchei the Deathless, Kruchina, Beda, Luck, the Zhar-Ptiza, Morfei, the magician named Oh, the Baba Yagas, Grandfather Satan, the Snake, the Vy, the Head, Gorgo, and the Swan Maiden.<sup>20</sup> In some instances these retain all the characteristics and attributes ascribed to them by the Russian tales; in others they suffer a strange sea change under Cabellian management.

The Vy retains his deadly gaze, Morfei is still a cook,<sup>21</sup> and the Snake is still malignant, though no longer polycephalous. Grandfather Satan is readily recognizable, as is also the Vampire. The Swan Maiden, the Baba Yagas, Kruchina, and Beda have undergone little, if any, transformation.<sup>22</sup>

The Norka, really a huge beast, becomes in *Figures of Earth* the Serpent of the East, and it is this snake, not Koshchei, that is represented as having an external soul in an egg.<sup>23</sup> The Leshy, originally

<sup>19</sup> In the skazki, the Swan Maidens are often inhabitants of a subaqueous world. See R, pp. 129-130.

<sup>20</sup> Of these, Gorgo and Luck are merely mentioned by name. Gorgo is invoked by Manuel in his attempt to summon Freydis, Queen of Audela, by a spell. Luck has become a name for the "blind, small, very fat white bitch" of Queen Stultitia.

<sup>21</sup> Cabell follows his source faithfully in making Morfei the cook for the Baba Yagas (J, p. 34); cf. R, p. 234: "At last he reached a wood in which was a hut, and inside the hut was an old crone. To her he told his story, after hearing which, she cried out, 'Ho, there! Morfei, dish up the meal!' and immediately a dinner appeared of which the old crone made the general partake. And next day she presented that cook to the general, ordering him to serve the general honorably, as he had served her."

<sup>22</sup> For the "telescoping" of Beda and the Head, see above.

<sup>23</sup> In the skazki, the Snake is one of the forms in which Koshchei appears. See, for example, R, pp. 109, 119, and 125. In R, p. 119, it is the Snake which has an external life in an egg.

wood demons, are now the patrons of the days of the week. The Head is given the "thin little voice" of Misery, and plays the role of the latter. The magician Oh is, in *Jurgen*, the ruler of the Baba Yagas. Koshchei is the ruler of things as they are, the creator of the Christian God and the Christian Heaven, and is at times identified with Satan. The greatest change, however, is probably in the Zhar-Ptitza. According to the skazki descriptions, the Zhar-Ptitza or Firebird, so-called because of the brilliance of its plumage, one feather from which suffices to light a dark room, dwells in a golden cage in the forest, but at night flies about in a garden, making its surroundings bright as day. Its food is magic grasses and golden apples which bestow youth and beauty. Like the Phoenix (and the Vampire), the Zhar-Ptitza sinks at sunrise into a deathlike sleep, from which it awakes only at sunset.

The Zhar-Ptitza of Cabell bears a closer resemblance to the Phoenix than to the Firebird of the skazki. In the description of both there is emphasis upon the brilliance of the plumage, but in the substitution of the "nest of cassia and sprigs of incense"<sup>24</sup> for the golden cage, the author seems to be drawing upon Pliny rather than upon Ralston.<sup>25</sup> And in the attributing of great wisdom to the Zhar-Ptitza,<sup>26</sup> Cabell again takes liberties with his source.

Besides the parallelisms in language which have already been pointed out, there are, in addition, certain idiomatic expressions and turns of phrase which recall the style of the Russian tales. I have not included them in this article, however, partly because of the infrequency with which they appear and partly, too, because in no one of them is there a nationalistic touch as unmistakable as is the Irish flavor of the following delightful "bull": "Indeed, it is a sad thing, Sylvia, to be murdered by the hand which, so to speak, is sworn to keep an eye on your welfare, and which rightfully should serve you on its knees."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> FE, pp. 56 and 101.

<sup>25</sup> "We are told that this bird is of the size of an eagle, and has a brilliant plumage around the neck, while the rest of the body is of a purple color; except the tail, which is azure, with long feathers intermingled of a roseate hue; the throat is adorned with a crest, and the head with a tuft of feathers . . . when it becomes old it builds a nest of cassia and sprigs of incense, which it fills with perfumes, and then lays its body down upon them to die . . ." (*The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley, London, 1890, II, 480).

<sup>26</sup> FE, pp. 56, 58, 101.

<sup>27</sup> J, p. 124.



## PRESCOTT'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

WILLIAM CHARVAT

*New York University*

WHEN JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said of William Hickling Prescott that it would be difficult to tell whether he were a "Protestant or a Catholic, a monarchist or a republican," and that he "possessed the two great qualifications of an historian, who should be apparently without country and without religion,"<sup>1</sup> a misconception was born which has been perpetuated by almost every subsequent commentator. *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (II, 130-131) asserts that there is no "echo of contemporary politics in his treatment of the past," that "nothing of his personal opinions and experience peeps out from between his lines," and that he was "almost untouched by his generation." Parrington followed with the comment that Prescott's works "suggest that aloofness from the sordid realities of America so characteristic of the Brahmin mind," and found it worth noting that *Ferdinand and Isabella* was written while "Jacksonianism was in full swing."<sup>2</sup> Taken together with the often reiterated statement that Prescott was aloof from the problems of the historical periods which he depicted, these generalizations produce the impression that he lived and worked in a complete vacuum and had no political opinions at all. How anyone can think this of a Federalist-Whig, a Unitarian, and a man of family and property living in Boston in the first half of the nineteenth century is a puzzle—unless one considers that principles and prejudices which are assumed rather than argued are likely to be inconspicuous.

An investigation of Prescott's political and social opinions not only helps to place him in his environment, but provides an indispensable background for his philosophy of history, which is gen-

<sup>1</sup> George Ticknor, *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, 1864), p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *The Romantic Revolution in America* (New York, 1927), p. 438. Rollo Ogden in his *William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, 1904) modified the generalization somewhat by devoting a short chapter (xv) to Prescott's attitude toward slavery in the 1850's.

The edition of Prescott's works cited in this article is that edited by John Foster Kirk (16 vols.; Philadelphia, 1895).

erally—and wrongfully—supposed to be nonexistent.<sup>3</sup> There is no room here for an exposition of that philosophy, but it can be stated that he assumed a law of progress, and that the criteria of that law which are germane to this discussion were national unity, liberal political principles, humanitarianism, and material prosperity. It is to be assumed that his application of these criteria to the century of Spanish history which was his field (1474-1574) was affected by his convictions concerning political and social developments in America in his own time (1796-1859).

In *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837) one of the lessons Prescott draws from Spain's rise and Italy's decline is the importance of national unity and "invigorating national feeling," and in his bibliographical essays on sources he counts patriotism in the historian an asset. Nevertheless, it has been one of the commoner critical errors to mistake the cultural cosmopolitanism of Prescott and other Brahmins for a lack of Americanness. Prescott's preoccupation with foreign history and his Anglophilia make him particularly vulnerable to this charge. Yet his essays contain defenses of America<sup>4</sup> which are comparable, in spirit at least, with Lowell's essay "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners," and his letters leave no doubt of his patriotism. One of them, a discouraged account of political conditions in 1844 to an English friend, is concluded with a characteristic remark: "As it is [our government] is only the best—the least bad—in the world, my dear monarchical friend."<sup>5</sup>

In another letter he wrote: ". . . I am born a republican. But I am not a fierce one, and in my own country indeed am ranked among what in England would correspond with the conservatives."<sup>6</sup> The self-estimate was accurate. Prescott's republicanism was of the traditional Federalist type. Ticknor, the man who knew him best, said that he "belonged essentially, both in his political feelings and in his political opinions, . . . to the conservative school of Washington and Hamilton, as its doctrines are recorded and developed in the 'Federalist.'"<sup>7</sup> In a long letter (1844)<sup>8</sup> to a foreign friend

<sup>3</sup> For a consideration of this subject, see the forthcoming volume on Prescott by the author and Michael Kraus in the "American Writers Series."

<sup>4</sup> See *Works*, XV, 189-190, for remarks on Scott's attitude toward Americans, and especially the long passage on British travelers in America (pp. 321-326).

<sup>5</sup> Roger Wolcott (ed.), *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847* (Boston, 1925), p. 513. See also *ibid.*, p. 412, and Ticknor, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> *Correspondence*, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> Ticknor, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondence*, pp. 499-503.

(whom he asked not to quote him) Prescott explained the two political traditions emanating from Washington and Jefferson "like the good and evil principles in Persian mythology":

The Father of his Country and first of the line, Washington, was the great leader of the Federal Party, one capital item of whose policy was to strengthen the arm of the executive. This party had a natural distrust of the democratic leaven and of its too violent workings. Though sincere republicans at heart they were not disposed to throw power into the hands of the mob. Jefferson, the third President, was the Coryphaeus of the opposite school, and adopted principles and introduced practices which were addressed to the popular feeling and influence. The doctrines of Jefferson were of course much the most palatable to the great mass of the people, who were lifted up by them to a higher consideration in the body political, and as the preponderance of power was in their hands already, every new change went to increase it in the same direction. A Conservative of our day is as much of a Liberal in his politics as a Democrat in the time of Jefferson, while a Democrat of the present day—Lord help us!

After a comparison of the two leaders, Prescott continues:

The tendency to a more and more democratic complexion has been checked by peculiar circumstances from time to time, but has gone on pretty steadily nevertheless. The President whose administration has since assumed the most original character in the list was Jackson, a man of a headstrong nature, very ignorant, but with an accurate knowledge of characteristics of his countrymen, and a mind of invincible resolution. His contentious temper led him to stretch the prerogatives of the executive beyond any of his predecessors. And yet he was a democrat at heart, and his simple policy was even more adverse to the old Federal principles than that of Jefferson. For he vulgarized the high posts of Government by a continual appeal and reference to the mob in his actions and discourse, and he spread a contempt for constitutional forms and usages, which is most hazardous to liberty in its truest sense. For attention to constituted forms is an essential practice of a constitutional government, where forms are in truth substance.

These passages embody two attitudes which are reiterated throughout his private writings and reflected in his works.

(1) Distrust of the intelligence and reliability of "the mob," and dislike of the political techniques by which the mob is exploited. Con-

tempt for the ignorant and the "unwashed"<sup>9</sup> is not to be wondered at in a man of Prescott's background. It is more important to realize that the election of Jackson and the extension of the suffrage made many upper-class Americans see that democracy had ceased to be a political abstraction, and that the uneducated and the uncultured were exerting an increasing influence on American life. Prescott's realization of this is reflected in his statement, in 1834, that "the good sense of the people" is a phrase "which has more of humbug in it than I once thought."<sup>10</sup> It is a mistake, however, to think that this attitude was characteristic only of the obviously patrician writers. The growth of democratic culture was watched anxiously by most of the Romantics, and doubts were expressed by Poe, Emerson, Irving, Lowell, Motley, Cooper, and even the optimistic Whitman. Brought up in a period when democracy was administered by men of education and breeding, our writers were naturally dismayed when the mob spirit, nurtured by demagogues and newspapers, began to threaten the traditional order of patrician republicanism.

In the narrower matter of party politics, Prescott was a Whig, who, with the majority of his party, opposed Jacksonism and Van Burenism,<sup>11</sup> approved government banking,<sup>12</sup> accepted Webster's leadership,<sup>13</sup> and deplored the Mexican War.<sup>14</sup> But in the 1840's party labels were becoming increasingly meaningless. "There seems to be yet no distinct rallying point for any great party to gather round," Prescott wrote in 1842.<sup>15</sup> He saw that the Whigs were appealing to the mob with the despised political techniques of the

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330. "I have too strong a conviction of the strength of the *million* and of their wrong-headedness to believe in the election of the wrong candidate. Yet the million sin more from ignorance than design" (*ibid.*, p. 513). On his first trip abroad he "banned *ennui* . . . by battling with Democrats and bed-bugs" (Ticknor, *op. cit.*, p. 33).

<sup>10</sup> *Correspondence*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 12, 15, 143.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258. The two knew each other well socially. See Ticknor, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 298.

<sup>14</sup> *Correspondence*, p. 533. Note, however, that his political affiliations did not affect his friendships. When George Bancroft, who was a Democratic politician, was made collector of the Port of Boston by Van Buren, Prescott prevailed upon Nathan Hale, the Whig editor of the *Boston Advertiser*, "to refrain from a hostile course against Bancroft as collector" (A. B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1848*, New Haven, 1925, p. 217). When it seemed likely that the conservative *North American Review* would reject his favorable review of a Bancroft work in 1840, he wrote that "the historian should not be confounded with the politician—and a friend is a friend" (*Correspondence*, p. 179). His friendship with the radical Charles Sumner is well known.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 245.

Democrats, and, rather cynically, he wrote Jared Sparks that the "log cabin and hard cider" slogan which helped bring about the Whig Harrison's "glorious victory" was meant "to gull the many, who love to be gulled."<sup>16</sup> Generally, he thought of politics as a "dirty trade,"<sup>17</sup> and deplored his friend Bancroft's meddling with it.<sup>18</sup>

(2) In the tradition of Federalism, Prescott revered the Constitution as the instrument of a strong central government. In his own time he would not overlook "the violence offered, in manifold ways, to the Constitution," nor the "ambitious and able statesmen in one section of the country proclaiming principles which must palsy the arm of the Federal Government, and urging the people of their own quarter to efforts for securing their independence of every other quarter." Yet he could not concur with those "wise and generous minds among us, who, seeing all this, feel a natural distrust as to the stability of the federal compact, and consider the experiment as still in progress." Optimistically, he believed that "there is sufficient intelligence and moral principle in the people, if not always to choose the best rulers, at least to right themselves by the ejection of bad ones when they find they have been abused; that they have intelligence enough to understand that their only consideration, their security as a nation, is in union. . . . In all this we may honestly confide; but our confidence will not pass for argument, will not be accepted as a solution of the problem. Time only can solve it; and until . . . the strength of our institutions [has been fairly tried] . . . the time will not have come to write the history of the Union."<sup>19</sup> In the mood of Longfellow's "The Building of the Ship," he wrote, in 1839, that "our old Constitution" in spite of hearty buffets, "carries us down the stream bravely."<sup>20</sup>

On the problem of slavery, Prescott's attitude was that of the average liberal Whig. He disapproved of the institution, but refused to subscribe to the abolitionist attitude that the freedom of the Negroes was more important than the preservation of the Union and the constitutional rights of the slaveholders. Comparing slavery in sixteenth-century Mexico with that of his own time, Prescott

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178. When the Whigs held a gigantic political rally in Boston in 1840, Prescott wrote that "Whiggery is a good thing in the abstract, but in the concrete one may have too much of a good thing" (*ibid.*, p. 153).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>19</sup> *Miscellanies*, pp. 302-304.

<sup>18</sup> Ticknor, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-361.

<sup>20</sup> *Correspondence*, p. 48.

wrote, "...in our time [the seeds of the evil of slavery] have struck their roots deep into the social system, and cannot be rudely handled without shaking the very foundations of the political fabric. It is easy to conceive that a man, who admits all the wretchedness of the institution and its wrongs to humanity, may nevertheless hesitate to adopt a remedy, until he is satisfied that the remedy itself is not worse than the disease. That such a remedy will come with time, who can doubt, that has the confidence in the ultimate prevalence of the right, and the progressive civilization of his species."<sup>21</sup> This attitude—that slavery "will be disposed of by its own gravity," as Ticknor put it—is remarkably similar to Emerson's stand in the "Ode Inscribed to W. H. Channing" (1847).

On these grounds Prescott was opposed even to such moderate abolitionists as John Quincy Adams, whose activities, he feared, would stir up sectional strife.<sup>22</sup> But he was even more opposed to such Southern schemes as the annexation of Texas. His attitude on this question was a mixture of moral distaste for the spread of slavery and of opposition to the extension of Southern political power to the detriment of Northern interests. In a letter to Dr. Channing in 1837<sup>23</sup> he expressed himself strongly on the matter: The enlargement of our territory for the criminal purpose of extending and indefinitely perpetuating slavery . . . must dishonor and degrade our young Republic . . . and at the same time disturb the equilibrium of power adjusted, and contemplated for the future, by the framers of our constitution, and place the free states under the domination of a sub-confederacy of slave states. Slave masters cannot be expected to prove a temperate majority. . . . It is in itself but little better than making our government accessory after the fact . . . to the robbery of a territory for half a dozen states.<sup>24</sup>

Eight years later he "excited some indignation"<sup>25</sup> by making this attitude public in a note<sup>26</sup> in which he entered his "protest, in com-

<sup>21</sup> *Works*, III, 332.

<sup>22</sup> *Correspondence*, p. 420.

<sup>23</sup> Fulmer Mood and Granville Hicks, "Letters to Dr. Channing on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas, 1837," *New England Quarterly*, V, 587-601 (July, 1932). See also *Correspondence*, pp. 520, 533.

<sup>24</sup> At this point in his letter he made the extraordinary statement that he was "disposed to think a peaceable separation would be preferable to a continuance of the Union under the preponderating power the annexation would give the slave states over the free." This is such a contradiction to all of his other statements on the issue that it can be dismissed as the result of momentary indignation.

<sup>25</sup> *Correspondence*, p. 577.

<sup>26</sup> A footnote (*Works*, XV, 282), which he added to his earlier review of Bancroft.

mon with so many better and wiser in our country, against a measure which every friend of freedom, both at home and abroad, may justly lament as the most serious shock yet given to the stability of our glorious institutions."

In 1850 he was still sufficiently the Federalist to approve Webster's Compromise Bill,<sup>27</sup> but political events thereafter tended to undermine his constitutionalism. As he wrote an Englishwoman in 1854, "It was only a strong conviction of the claim which the South had on us by virtue of the Constitution, which made us one nation, that induced our people to sign the famous Compromise." After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law his "blood boiled" to see Boston "placed under martial law . . . for no other purpose than to send a runaway negro back to his master," and he went so far as to enlist the sympathies and receive the contributions of English friends in behalf of a slave—presumably a fugitive. The Kansas-Nebraska Act seemed "so much like double dealing . . . that there is now great apathy on our part in regard to enforcing our own part of the contract [of the Compromise Bill]."<sup>28</sup> Prescott, therefore, may be ranked with the Conscience Whigs, rather than with the Cotton Whigs on the far right.

The problem of imperialism, as distinguished from that of slavery, disturbed Prescott profoundly. Of course, he followed his party in opposing all expansion which would increase the power of the Democrats, but on more philosophic grounds he believed that "the craving for foreign acquisitions has ever been a most fatal symptom in the history of republics."<sup>29</sup> Yet it was the method of the second Conquest of Mexico that he objected to rather than the fact. He saw no occasion for disregarding "the great principles of international justice" when it was possible to "negotiate and buy off the claims of beggarly Mexico."<sup>30</sup> "The peaceful settlement and civilization" of territories was inevitable, he believed.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, he had found, in his inquiries into the morality of the Spanish Conquest,<sup>32</sup> that the problem of imperialism was tied up with that of progress. The claim of the Conquistadors that they had a duty to convert the heathen, was little worse than that of Protestant nations,

<sup>27</sup> He was one of the eight hundred prominent Bostonians who supported Webster in a signed statement (J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 56).

<sup>28</sup> These details are given by Ogden, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

<sup>29</sup> *Works*, XV, 282. See also *Correspondence*, pp. 520, 550, 642, 656.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520.

<sup>31</sup> *Works*, XV, 282.

<sup>32</sup> *Works*, II, 30-32.

which based their conquests on the rights of civilized man to take over barbarous territories. The English in America, after all, had taken far more than they needed. Even a study of international law on the subject did not reveal to Prescott any higher grounds for such depredations than priority of discovery. Prescott was no purist in the matter of imperialism: it was an historical fact, and he believed that the best that moral man could do was to discountenance its more outrageous and violent phases.

This was also the temper of Prescott's attitude toward war. A historian of wars, he saw that physical strife was a constant factor in history, and he made no attempt to generalize about its causes. In some respects it seemed to him to be glorious. Charles Sumner's dictum in his *The True Grandeur of Nations* (1845), that "There can be no war that is not dishonorable," sent Prescott's imagination back to Marathon and Bannockburn—to "all those wars which have had—which are *yet* to have—freedom for their object." When his friend went further and pronounced against the representation of "battle-pieces" in the arts, Prescott protested that the great struggles of the past speak "more forcibly than all the homilies of parson or philanthropist," and asked if they were "*all* to be blotted from memory, equally with my own wild skirmishes of barbarians and banditti. Lord deliver us! Where will you bring up? If the stories are not to be painted or written, such records of them as have been heedlessly made should by the same rule be destroyed . . . I laugh; but I fear you will make the judicious grieve."<sup>33</sup> Yet Prescott was not an unworthy disciple of the great pacifist, W. E. Channing. Even the latter, in his brilliant "Discourse" of 1816, had rejected "the principle that war is absolutely, and in all possible cases, unlawful, and prohibited by Christianity." Perhaps Prescott was guilty of encouraging militarism by playing up what Channing called "the brilliant qualities displayed in war" by nations and individuals, but it cannot be said that he concealed the horrors of conflict. Assuming that "man in a state of excitement, savage or civilized, is much the same in every age," and that horror is inevitable in war, Prescott felt that the best lesson history can teach us is that nations "should submit to every sacrifice, save that of honor, before authorizing an appeal to arms. The extreme solicitude to avoid these calamities, by the aid of peaceful congresses and impartial

<sup>33</sup> Ticknor, *op. cit.*, pp. 377, 378-379.



mediation, is, on the whole, the strongest evidence, stronger than that afforded by the progress of science and art, of our boasted advance in civilization."<sup>34</sup> Prescott's reluctant changes of attitude on the Southern problem prove that he meant what he said.

In the matter of basic social change, Prescott was opposed to the visionary zeal of the followers of French revolutionary romanticism who believed that evil derived from institutions rather than from the imperfections of human nature, and who, like Charles Brockden Brown, indulged in "indefinite dreams of perfectibility."<sup>35</sup> Always the temperate and rational historian, he could understand but not sympathize with "those who are willing to suffer and die bravely for their own doctrines"; and he perceived that the "zeal requisite for great revolutions, whether in church or state, is rarely attended by charity for difference of opinion."<sup>36</sup> In the long run, the most beneficent changes were brought about not by the violence of zealots, but by the irresistible operation of the moral law. Thus, the "poor and humble missionary" in Peru, using only the weapons of "argument and mild persuasion," won his way to a moral victory "more potent, and happily more permanent, than that of the blood-stained conqueror," reminding us of the "slow, insensible manner in which Nature works out her great changes in the material world, that are to endure when the ravages of the hurricane are passed away and forgotten."<sup>37</sup> Such a hurricane was the French Revolution, during which "the spirit of innovation menaced the oldest and best established principles in morals and government." The only stable basis for revolutions in society—

the only foundation at which the friend of humanity does not shudder—must be the slow work of time; and who would wish the good cause to be so precipitated that, in eradicating the old abuses which have interwoven themselves with every stone and pillar of the building, the noble building itself, which has so long afforded security to its inmates, should be laid in ruins? What is the best, what the worst form of government, in the abstract, may be matter of debate; but there can be no doubt that the best will become the worst to a people who blindly rush into it without the preliminary training for comprehending and conducting it.<sup>38</sup>

His attitude toward the Revolutions of 1848 was one of watchfulness and doubt. "I for one," he wrote in May, 1848, "entertain

<sup>34</sup> *Works*, II, 33-34. See also *Works*, VI, 357.

<sup>35</sup> *Works*, XV, 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Works*, VIII, 442.

<sup>36</sup> *Works*, XV, 277.

<sup>38</sup> *Works*, XV, 274-275.

great distrust of the capacity of the uneducated millions to exercise the full extent of political power that can be claimed by a democracy of long standing. Universal suffrage in France and Italy!"<sup>39</sup> Yet, though he was "very certain that, at the present moment, Europe is not the place for Republics,"<sup>40</sup> he felt that the revolution represented the natural force and direction of progress, and that eventually it would give birth to liberty.<sup>41</sup> "This war of opinion—this contest between light and darkness . . . furnishes the point of view from which [Europe's] history is to be studied in the present, and, it may be, the following centuries."<sup>42</sup>

As a "democracy of long standing," America, he felt, had all such convulsions behind it. "I think we here are safe from this kind of Revolution. Unless, indeed, the Communist philosophers should get up a division of property for the benefit of the millions. But I think there is too much principle, as well as property, in this community, to endorse such speculations."<sup>43</sup> This is the keynote of Prescott's attitude toward the American economy. Whatever his patrician bias against universal suffrage, he gauged accurately the spirit of bourgeois capitalism, of which he was a beneficiary. If he overlooked the parallel between himself and the "rich proprietor who does nothing but fatten on his rents . . . as in the Old World";<sup>44</sup> if he was somewhat optimistic in his belief that "the poorest man can have . . . a fowl in his pot every day"; he perceived rightly that ours was an expanding economy where the "man of enterprise takes the lead in a bustling community, where action and progress, or at least change, are the very conditions of existence," and where, in spite of temporary checks, "the great mass still advances."<sup>45</sup> Like most of his generation, Prescott assumed that the beneficence of *laissez faire* was unarguable,<sup>46</sup> and that a competitive economy was best for both individual and society.

In harmony with the *laissez-faire* philosophy, and with Unitarian

<sup>39</sup> C. L. Penney (ed.), *Prescott, Unpublished Letters to Gayangos in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1927), p. 77.

<sup>40</sup> *Miscellanies*, p. 297.

<sup>41</sup> Penney, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>42</sup> *Works*, XV, 275.

<sup>43</sup> Penney, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> *Works*, XV, 323. On the investments of the Prescotts in New England manufacturing, see the Appendix of Vera Shlakman's *Economic History of a Factory Town* (Smith College Studies in History, No. 20, 1935).

<sup>45</sup> *Works*, XV, 323. See also *Correspondence*, pp. 48, 71-72.

<sup>46</sup> "That an individual will understand his own interests better than the government can, or, what is the same thing, that trade, if let alone, will find its way into the channels on the whole most advantageous to the community, few will deny" (*Works*, VI, 488).

social policy, Prescott also believed that the indigence and distress of the poor, the handicapped, and the unfit were best ameliorated by private charity. In historical perspective he saw progress in the shift from the public policy of the ancients, who neglected those "unfortunate beings, who from disease or incapacity of any kind, were disqualified from contributing to the prosperity of the state," to the modern—and essentially Christian—attitude that the rights of the individual are "as sacred as those of the community."<sup>47</sup> He was a practical rather than a doctrinaire humanitarian, and notably generous in his aid to individuals and institutions.<sup>48</sup> In his "Asylum for the Blind" (1830),<sup>49</sup> a philosophical, historical, and comparative discussion of one phase of charity, his central attitude reflects the pervading individualism of his times. Just as he rejected the ancient Peruvian economy because, in eliminating poverty, it made the individual a creature of the state,<sup>50</sup> so he protested against the kind of private charity which robs the individual of his sense of personal dignity. The best aid, he thought, is that which enables the handicapped to help themselves. Half blind himself, and a specialist in the problems of the blind, he urged that these unfortunates be taught to make use of the faculties—memory and touch particularly—which are enhanced by lack of sight.

In an essay on Bancroft, Prescott once wrote that although "no pet theory nor party predilections can justify [the historian] in swerving one hair's-breadth from truth in his delineation of the mighty dead," no one "strongly pledged to any set of principles, whether in politics or religion [can] disguise them in the discussion of abstract topics, without being false to himself, and giving a false tone to the picture."<sup>51</sup> Prescott was definitely, if not strongly, pledged, and no careful reader of his life, letters, and works can mistake his judicial serenity for indifference to the problems and issues of his own day or that part of the past which he depicted.

<sup>47</sup> *Works*, XV, 53.

<sup>48</sup> One of his secretaries said that he regularly gave away one tenth of his income (Ogden, *op. cit.*, p. 185). His mother, when she was able to, "gave more than half her income to the poor. Her son fully shared her spirit. While she lived, he co-operated with her, and, after her death, her pensioners were not permitted, so far as money could do it, to feel their loss" (Ticknor, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-159; also pp. 250-252).

<sup>49</sup> Reprinted in *Works*, XV, 53-81. See also his discussion of Abbott Lawrence's charities in his *Memoir of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence* (Philadelphia, 1856).

<sup>50</sup> *Works*, VII, 170-171.

<sup>51</sup> *Works*, XV, 312-313.

## SAMUEL ROGERS AND AMERICAN MEN OF LETTERS

JOSEPH J. FIREBAUGH  
*University of Arkansas*

THE NAME of Samuel Rogers has been strangely neglected in the recent rather widespread interest in the history of American and English cultural relations. Yet Rogers was a man who was a sympathetic, if somewhat passive, observer of American life and letters, and who, moreover, was in a position to communicate that sympathy in circles of people whose opinion mattered. To be sure, Rogers was a Whig, and Whigs were more favorably disposed toward Americans than were the Tories; but it was Rogers's Whig friend Sydney Smith who had asked a famous and impertinent question, "Who reads an American book?" which, had it been addressed to Rogers, might have found an answer.

Samuel Rogers, whose lifetime (1763-1855) spanned the formative years of the American republic, was a minor English poet who was infinitely less important for his spiritless verses than for the vivacious literary gossip with which he entertained guests at his breakfast table. From his father he inherited both his Whig principles and the bank which provided his livelihood—a bank which Washington Irving said was "one of these quiet little old fashioned, old gentleman like banks, that did business so snugly, and cautiously and on so moderate a scale"<sup>1</sup> that he found it hard to believe it could be robbed of nearly £50,000, as it was in 1844.<sup>2</sup> From his father, too, came his regard for America. Rogers recalled his father's telling his children that the cause of the colonies was a righteous one, and that England was at fault; and years later he told an American guest, the merchant George Livermore, that his father, "when the news came to London of the Battle of Lexington . . . sent for his tailor, and ordered a suit of black. On the tailor

<sup>1</sup> Washington Irving to Mrs. Sarah Storrow, Madrid, Dec. 20, 1844, in "Letters to Sarah Storrow from Spain by Washington Irving," ed. Barbara Damon Simison, in *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh Librarian of Yale University by the Staff of the Library* 30 June 1938 (New Haven, 1938), p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Most of this money was recovered. See P. W. Clayden, *Samuel Rogers and His Contemporaries* (London, 1889), II, 253-254; hereinafter referred to as *Rogers*.

asking if he had lost any friend, he answered, 'Yes, many dear American friends at the battle of Lexington; and I shall wear black for them as long as I live.'<sup>3</sup>

Both in his literary and in his social life Samuel Rogers continued his father's predilection for things American. In his poem, *The Voyage of Columbus* (1810), he spoke thus of America, a land which, surprisingly enough, he was never to visit:

Yet from these shores shall spring  
Peace without end; from these, with blood defiled,  
Spread the pure spirit of thy master mild!  
Here, in His train, shall arts and arms attend,  
Arts to adorn, and arms but to defend.  
Assembling here, all nations shall be blest;  
The sad be comforted; the weary rest;  
Untouched shall drop the fetters from the slave;  
And He shall rule the world He died to save!<sup>4</sup>

And, in a footnote to the passage, he alluded to Washington's farewell address. His attitude toward slavery was that of the eighteenth-century sentimentalist toward the noble savage. Witness *The Pleasures of Memory*:

. . . beyond the western wave,  
Go, see the captive bartered as a slave!  
Crushed till his high, heroic spirit bleeds,  
And from his nerveless frame indignantly recedes.<sup>5</sup>

Although he did not live to see emancipation of American slaves, Rogers expressed his sympathies with the abolitionists in a letter to Lord Shaftesbury.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout Rogers's long career as a *littérateur* and dilettante, almost every political or literary American of consequence found a place at the breakfast table in that "charming *bijou* of a house"<sup>7</sup> in St. James's Place—"one of the completest and most elegant little bachelor establishments" that Irving had ever seen—"as neat, and

<sup>3</sup> From Livermore's journal, April 28, 1845, quoted by Charles Deane, "Memoir of George Livermore," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Jan., 1869, p. 438. Cf. P. W. Clayden, *The Early Life of Samuel Rogers* (London, 1887), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers with a Memoir by Edward Bell, M.A.* (London, 1891), p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Rogers, II, 427-428.

<sup>7</sup> Susan Fenimore Cooper, "Small Family Memories," in *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. by his grandson, James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven, 1922), I, 68.

elegant, (or) . . . and finished, and small, as his own principal poem."<sup>8</sup> To this house, bearing letters of introduction, came many Americans; and when Rogers liked them, he asked them to breakfast. He "loved to speak of his relations with Americans," wrote Bryant, and used to boast that he had entertained three American presidents—John Quincy Adams, Millard Fillmore, and Martin Van Buren; "and then he would enumerate, in his succinct way, the illustrious men, founders of our republic, or eminent in its later history, who had been his guests."<sup>9</sup> One of the greatest of them, Daniel Webster, remembered Rogers as "an essential element in my idea of London society."<sup>10</sup> To be asked to dine with Rogers was, said a later writer, "the highest attention a literary American visitor could receive in London."<sup>11</sup>

If Washington Irving was the first American literary ambassador to England, it was Rogers's court in St. James's Place—only a step from St. James's Palace—to which he was a delegate. He was a successful ambassador; American literature probably owes much of the growth of its nineteenth-century English reputation to the efforts of Washington Irving, and not a little to his friendship with Samuel Rogers. To be sure, Irving was discovering in England "a strong disposition to be pleased with anything American just now [1822], among the better classes in England; and a great curiosity awakened respecting our literature,"<sup>12</sup> but the careful fostering of this curiosity by Irving, and the willing enthusiasm of such men as Rogers, assured a strengthening of the tendency.

Irving's friendship with Rogers began during the summer of 1822, at a dinner party given by an English noblewoman at her Wimbledon country seat. Here Irving and Rogers first met. Rogers began the acquaintance by giving Irving some characteristically worldly advice concerning the invitations with which he was then being deluged. "Rogers cautioned him to be on his guard, or the common-place would hunt him down. 'Shew me your list of invi-

<sup>8</sup> Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort, June 30, 1822 (Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, New York, 1864, II, 87).

<sup>9</sup> William Cullen Bryant, journal entry for Dec. 18, 1855 (Parke Godwin, *The Life of William Cullen Bryant*, New York, 1883, II, 84).

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Webster to Samuel Rogers, June 14, 1847 (*The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, ed. Fletcher Webster, Boston, 1875, II, 258).

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Part of a Man's Life* (Boston, 1905), p. 70.

<sup>12</sup> Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort, London, June 11, 1822 (*Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort*, ed. George S. Hellman, New York, 1918, p. 388).

tations,' said he, 'and let me give you a hint or two. This accept,' to one; 'that decline,' to another; to a third, 'this man avoid by all means; oh! he's a direful bore.'"<sup>13</sup> Rogers and Irving had much in common: both were witty and highly gregarious bachelors with literary interests; accordingly, their friendship progressed rapidly. Within two weeks of their first meeting Irving was able to write that he breakfasted occasionally with Rogers, and that he had met "Crabbe and others of his literary friends."<sup>14</sup> Irving left for the Continent on July 6 of that year, and was not in London again for nearly two years. During the summer of 1824 Rogers and Irving were on terms of intimacy, dining *tête-à-tête*, while Rogers "served up his friends as he served up his fish, with a squeeze of lemon over each,"<sup>15</sup> and entertained Irving with anecdotes of Byron and Lady Caroline Lamb.<sup>16</sup> Irving planned at this time to write a biography of Rogers—and one of Campbell—for the publisher Galignani,<sup>17</sup> but this project was never carried out.

For the next few years Irving was not in England, but upon his return the two men resumed their close friendship. One note from Irving to Rogers, alluding to a conversation of the preceding evening, presses upon Rogers a book, *Tales of an Indian Camp*, a collection of American Indian folklore by the American writer, James Athearn Jones.<sup>18</sup> Irving was enthusiastic about the book; and the incident of his sending it to Rogers is illustrative of his ambassadorial function.

In 1832 Irving performed a signal service for American literature by bringing out the first English edition of Bryant's poems, with his own name as editor, and with a dedication to Rogers. This editorship, together with the dedication, was part of a carefully laid plan to assure that, despite the decline in poetic taste in the 1820's and 1830's, the book would not fail. Irving's name was well known in England; and Rogers, of course, was an institution. The dedication is noteworthy for its statement of Rogers's friendliness to American writers:

<sup>13</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, II, 82.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 87.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 208; cf. II, 204. As George Ticknor was later to remark, Rogers could be "sometimes a little sub-acid" (*Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, Boston, 1877, II, 145).

<sup>16</sup> Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (New York, 1935), I, 259. Professor Williams's excellent book has directed me to materials which I might not otherwise have discovered.

<sup>17</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, II, 204.

<sup>18</sup> Rogers, II, 44.

My dear Sir:

During an intimacy of some years' standing I have uniformly remarked a liberal interest on your part in the rising character and fortunes of my country, and a kind disposition to promote the success of American talent, whether engaged in literature or the arts.<sup>19</sup>

Irving is careful, moreover, to show that Rogers already knew and admired Bryant's poetry; he had, indeed—as we shall see below—been introduced to it by Cooper as early as 1828.

Irving returned to America in 1832, and during his stay of ten years occasional expressions of good will passed between the two men. To Rogers, Irving wrote that he was building "a little cottage on the banks of the Hudson," and that he wished he could entertain him there and thus "shew my sense of that kind and long-continued hospitality enjoyed in your classic little mansion in St. James's Place."<sup>20</sup> With the plaintiveness of age, Rogers replied that

if . . . you, my dear friend, delay your coming much longer, I shall have no hope of seeing . . . you on this side of the grave. You say you are building a house; this looks ill for us; but when you have roofed it in and looked once or twice out of the windows, perhaps you will think of us before we are all gone; and I among the first.<sup>21</sup>

When the two men did finally meet again, in 1842—Rogers was now seventy-four years old—he took Irving "in his arms quite in a paternal manner."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, II, 475. The reference to "the arts" appears not to have been mere rhetoric. See Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 461, for a quotation from H. T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), p. 202, indicating that Rogers liked the work of the American painter William E. West.

John Pendleton Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) was another American work which, in its English edition, was dedicated to Rogers. In his unpublished journal for April 8, 1835, Kennedy wrote: "I have written to Irving to tell him that I wished to inscribe it to him. And also to Samuel Rogers of London to request a like permission from him for my English copy." On May 24 Kennedy noted that Irving had written to Rogers "for the same purpose," and that the inscription to Rogers had been sent to Bentley, Kennedy's London publisher. On September 26, Kennedy, recording a trip he had recently made to "the Falls of Niagara and Quebec," said that "Whilst upon Lake Champlain I wrote a letter to Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Rogers (the poet) in London, which together with a cane I had procured at Goat Island I sent to him. . . ."

"Upon my return I found a letter from Mr Rogers thanking me for my dedication. . . ." I wish to express my thanks to Professor Jay B. Hubbell, who supplied this information about Kennedy and Rogers.

<sup>20</sup> Washington Irving to Samuel Rogers, Feb. 3, 1836 (*Rogers*, II, 143-144).

<sup>21</sup> Samuel Rogers to Washington Irving, Feb. 20, 1837 (James Grant Wilson, *The Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, New York, 1869, p. 399).

<sup>22</sup> Washington Irving to Mrs. Paris, May 7, 1842 (Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, III, 196).



Amid such expressions of his personal regard for Irving, it is to be regretted that there is so little evidence of his opinion of Irving as a literary man. Thomas Moore records a very brief criticism which he heard Rogers make. On May 27, 1828, Moore "Breakfasted at Rogers's, to meet Cooper the American. . . . When Rogers, . . . in talking of Washington Irving's 'Columbus,' said, in his dry significant way, 'It's rather *long*,' Cooper turned round on him, and said sharply, 'That's a *short* criticism.'" <sup>23</sup> Again, in 1842, when Macaulay told Rogers and Edward Everett that Irving was "the best imitator of Addison," Rogers called him "Addison and Water." <sup>24</sup> Yet Rogers was not always so "short" with Irving's books. He approved of *A Tour on the Prairies* (1836), and told C. R. Leslie of his approval; <sup>25</sup> and in 1845 he told George Livermore unqualifiedly that "Washington Irving was of course at the head of our [American] prose writers." <sup>26</sup> It is of course impossible to say how much Rogers was influenced by his personal regard for Irving. The two men renewed associations in London in 1842, and again the next year in Paris. <sup>27</sup> Again in 1845 they breakfasted together in Paris. <sup>28</sup> In 1846 Irving returned to Sunnyside, and they did not meet again. Frequently, during his last days, Irving told his visitors of the talk at Rogers's table. <sup>29</sup>

Another American literary ambassador to England, James Fenimore Cooper, first met Samuel Rogers during his London visit of 1828. Cooper had the good fortune to settle in St. James's Place, only a step from Rogers's house. Rogers was quick to pay him the honor of a call, and to invite him to breakfast. At this breakfast,

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Moore, *Memoirs, Journals, and Correspondence*, ed. Lord John Russell (London, 1853-56), V, 288-289.

<sup>24</sup> P. R. Frothingham, *Edward Everett* (Boston, 1925), p. 212.

<sup>25</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 82. Cf. C. R. Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, ed. Tom Taylor (Boston, 1860), p. 300.

<sup>26</sup> George Livermore's journal, April 28, 1845 (Charles Deane, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1869, p. 439).

<sup>27</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 120, 163; Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort, Bordeaux, Nov. 26, 1843 (*Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort*, ed. George S. Hellman, New York, 1918, pp. 460-461). Cf. Washington Irving to Mrs. Louis McLane, Madrid, Aug. 16, 1845, a manuscript letter in the collection of the late Robert Morton Hughes of Norfolk, Va. By Mr. Hughes's will, the collection is soon to be deposited in the Library of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. I am indebted to Miss Mary D. Pretlow of the Norfolk Public Library for having this letter copied for me; and to Miss Georgia Clark of the University of Arkansas Library for her assistance with this and other problems which arose during the writing of this article.

<sup>28</sup> *Rogers*, II, 281.

<sup>29</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, IV, 120.

Rogers showed an interest in the literature and language of America.<sup>30</sup> Apparently, Rogers liked Cooper, for he asked him to breakfast "a second and a third time, in the course of a few days."<sup>31</sup> At one of these breakfasts the conversation again turned to American literature, this time more earnestly, with the result that Cooper introduced Rogers to two American poets. Cooper relates the incident:

Mr. Rogers introduced the subject of American poetry. By general consent, it was silently agreed to treat all who had gone before as if they had not written. I named to them Messrs. Halleck and Bryant, of neither of whom did they appear to know anything. In consequence of something that had previously fallen from our host, I had obtained an imperfect copy of light American poetry, from Mr. Miller, the bookseller. It contained [Halleck's] "Alnwick Castle," as well as several things by Mr. Bryant. I left it with them, and both gentlemen [Rogers and Sir James Mackintosh] subsequently expressed themselves much pleased with what they found in it. "Alnwick Castle," in particular, had great success, but I do not think the book itself did justice to Mr. Bryant.<sup>32</sup>

The introduction which Cooper performed on this day proved a most fruitful one. Rogers never failed to speak of Bryant and Halleck when American literature was discussed.

That Rogers liked Cooper is fairly certain; but once, when Cooper was not present at Rogers's table, Thomas Moore, who seems not to have liked the American, commented on his "touchiness." Sydney Smith advised Moore to call Cooper out at once, since it must eventually come to that<sup>33</sup>—but this was as much a jibe at Moore as at Cooper, for Moore was no stranger to the dueling ground. On one occasion, a few years later, Rogers did express his regard for Cooper's books, but since he did so in a personal letter to Cooper, some allowance may be made for friendly exaggeration. Rogers wrote: "You say you are not reckoned a first-rate writer in America. Pray let us know who your rivals are. We are dying to know."<sup>34</sup> Rogers undoubtedly liked Cooper both as a literary man and as an individual. They exchanged letters, and met again, but left few records of their intercourse.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe: England*, ed. Robert E. Spiller (New York, 1938), pp. 30-31.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Moore, *op. cit.*, V, 280-281.

<sup>34</sup> Samuel Rogers to James Fenimore Cooper, London, Dec. 25, 1835 (*The Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, I, 353).

<sup>35</sup> Rogers, II, 12 ff.; *The Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, II, 554.

Rogers, we have seen, had first been introduced to the poems of Bryant by Cooper in 1828—a fact that is not surprising, considering that an English edition had not yet appeared. In 1832, Rogers had Bryant's work even more forcibly called to his attention when Washington Irving dedicated to Rogers the English edition of Bryant's poems. Irving explained his reasons for this procedure in a letter to Bryant: "You will perceive that I have taken the liberty of putting my name as editor, and of dedicating the work to Mr. Rogers. Something was necessary to call attention at this moment of literary languor and political excitement to a volume of poetry almost unknown to the British public."<sup>36</sup>

The device served its purpose at least with Rogers. We never discover him speaking of Bryant except in terms of praise. When Bryant came to Europe in 1845, Rogers exerted all his charm in extending the hospitality of St. James's Place. With a modest use of the third person, Bryant recorded the meeting in his journal:

On one occasion [Rogers] met an American [Bryant] for the first time at a literary breakfast, at the home of Mr. [Edward] Everett, who, while abroad, was never wanting in obliging and friendly attentions to his countrymen. "Where are you lodging?" he asked the American. "In St. James's Place," was the reply. "Come with me," said Mr. Rogers, "and I will show you the nearest way to St. James's Place."<sup>37</sup>

Whereupon he took Bryant to the back entry of his house, graciously showed him the establishment, and, in letting him out the front way, asked him to breakfast on the following morning.

That same year Rogers had told George Livermore that he considered Bryant "at the head of the [American] poets";<sup>38</sup> and the following year Rogers wrote to Bryant, now back in America, to acknowledge receipt of a volume of Bryant's poems: "What can I say to you—how can I thank you for the very beautiful volume which I have just received? I can only say what I have said before. But, having now seen you, which I had so long wished to do, I can now read it in your voice and with your countenance before me."<sup>39</sup> Again in 1848 he sent Bryant expressions of regard for his friendship and for his verse: "At my age I cannot hope to see you again

<sup>36</sup> Parke Godwin, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 84.

<sup>38</sup> George Livermore's journal, April 28, 1845 (Charles Deane, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1869, p. 439).

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Rogers to William Cullen Bryant, June 24, 1846 (Parke Godwin, *op. cit.*, II, 24 n.).

on this side of the grave; but as long as I remain here I can pass many a pleasant, many a delightful hour with you, though the Atlantic rolls between us; and, when I am gone—as in a year or two, if not sooner, I must be—you will always, I am sure, speak of me kindly.”<sup>40</sup> When Rogers wrote this letter, he was in his old age, and was longing for the affection of others; but as the opinion of a man of taste who was still influential, it should be recorded.

Despite the melancholy predictions of the above letter, Rogers was to meet Bryant again, when the American made his third voyage to Europe in 1849. He was to meet him, moreover, with a stream of exuberant if somewhat caustic anecdote on the imminent insanity of the English poets.<sup>41</sup> Shortly before Rogers’s death, George Bancroft, the historian, then Minister to Great Britain, wrote to Bryant that

Mr. Rogers came in a few days ago to see us. He is very old, as you know, but still full of interest in all that is about him. Of himself, without any lead on my part, he spoke of you; and he said, in the plainest terms, that he found more pleasure in reading your works than in any other living poet. He spoke unreservedly. I was so pleased to hear this from the countryman of Wordsworth and Moore that I told him I should communicate to you his good opinion. Upon this he bade me do so, and repeated, in the warmest terms, his admiration of your writings.<sup>42</sup>

This praise will seem exaggerated; but it must be remembered that the great days of the Romantic era were over, and that Arnold and Browning were yet to come into their own.

In America, the work of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was just beginning to appear, and evidently Rogers first became aware of the poems in 1842. Charles Sumner, who had known Rogers in England a few years before, wrote to Rogers, on June 1, 1842:

I took the liberty of forwarding to you by the last packet two volumes of poems recently published by my friend Mr. Longfellow. [*Voices of the Night* had been published in 1839; *Ballads and Other Poems* in 1841.] He was desirous that you should do him the favour to receive them as a token of his respect.

Mr. Longfellow is now at a German watering-place, where he has gone for his health, and expects to be in London for a day or two during the autumn on his way home.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Samuel Rogers to William Cullen Bryant, Nov. 12, 1848 (Godwin, *op. cit.*, II, 36).

<sup>41</sup> Godwin, *op. cit.*, II, 47-48.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 87 n.

<sup>43</sup> Rogers, II, 217.

Rogers's response was prompt and enthusiastic; on October 1, 1842, Sumner communicated his reply to Longfellow.

I have received a letter from Mr. Rogers in which he says: "I cannot express the delight with which I have read again and again the volumes of Mr. Longfellow. Very few things, if any, have ever thrilled me so much; and very sorry indeed shall I be if I lose the opportunity of seeing and of thanking one to whom I am under such great obligations. Pray tell him so, if you write to him. If I am within any railroad distance and in tolerable health, I shall not fail to return when I hear of his arrival here. But why make so short a stay when he would be so welcome?"<sup>44</sup>

Rogers's eagerness to meet Longfellow was apparent; on September 28, 1842, he was staying with Charles Dickens, who wrote Longfellow on that date that he "begs me to commend him to you, and to say that he has made me pledge myself, on pain of non-forgiveness ever afterward, to carry you to see him without loss of time when you come."<sup>45</sup> The two men soon met, and Rogers extended Longfellow the usual breakfast invitation, and one to dinner;<sup>46</sup> but they apparently did not follow up their meeting by a long correspondence.

Of the minor American poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Cooper had told Rogers in 1828. In 1829 Cooper wrote a friend to deliver Halleck the message that Rogers was "delighted" with "Alnwick Castle"<sup>47</sup>—a poem of romantic nostalgia for the past, which seems to have been a general favorite with Halleck's admirers. In 1836 Washington Irving sent to Rogers a volume of Halleck's verse.<sup>48</sup> Just a year later, on February 20, 1837, Rogers wrote an enthusiastic letter to Irving, which Irving read at a New York literary dinner on March 30—a dinner at which Halleck was present. According to a report in the *New York American* it was received with cries of "Hear! Hear!" and with prolonged cheers. Rogers wrote: "With Mr. Halleck's Poems I was already acquainted, particularly with the two first in the volume, and I cannot say how much I admired them always. They are better than anything we can do just now on our side of the Atlantic. I hope he will not be idle, but will continue

<sup>44</sup> Charles Sumner to Longfellow, Boston, Oct. 1, 1842 (Samuel Longfellow, *The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Boston, 1899, I, 439).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 439.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 440.

<sup>47</sup> *The Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, I, 171.

<sup>48</sup> Rogers, II, 143.

long to delight us."<sup>49</sup> This admiration was no doubt sincere; but it is a commentary more on Rogers's taste than on Halleck's merit. More than a decade later Rogers repeated his praises in the presence of Joseph G. Cogswell, a friend of Halleck, who was prompt to communicate his words to the American poet.

My dear Halleck: I must send you a line to report to you the substance of a delightful conversation I had with Rogers about you last week. He asked Lady Davy, at one of his breakfasts, if she had read your poems; she answered no. "Shame on you," said he; "he has written some things which no poet living has surpassed, and you shall not be ignorant of him any longer." The book was brought, and Rogers read in his best manner several passages from "Alnwick Castle," the greater part of "Marco Bozzaris," and a few of the shorter pieces. He then laid down the volume and entertained me with a beautiful tribute to your merit as a poet.<sup>50</sup>

These poems of Halleck's which excited Rogers to such effusive praise strike the modern reader as very ordinary, minor romantic verse, filled with longing for exotic places and earlier ages—not without merit, to be sure, but bound to the traditional concepts of the romantic. It is not surprising that Rogers—a minor romantic with neoclassical roots—found them good.

A veritable host of Americans, literary and nonliterary, traveled to England during the later years of Rogers's life. Emerson came in October, 1847, and was brought to Rogers's table by Mrs. Bancroft, wife of the American ambassador to England. Rogers, said Emerson, "received us with cold, quiet, indiscriminate politeness, and entertained us with a store of anecdote, which Mrs. Bancroft knew how to draw forth, about such people as we cared most to hear of."<sup>51</sup> Charles Sumner in 1849 sent Rogers a letter for Herman Melville, asking for him "the freedom of No. 22 St. James's Place";<sup>52</sup> but if Melville used this freedom, his biographers have not recorded the fact. Minor figures, too, had come—N. P. Willis in 1835,<sup>53</sup> and in 1841 Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, whose sentimental letters must have proved exasperating, even to old age.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, III, 115-116. For the full text of the letter see James Grant Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-399.

<sup>50</sup> James Grant Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

<sup>51</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals*, ed. Edward W. Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-14), VII, 349.

<sup>52</sup> Rogers, II, 342.

<sup>53</sup> Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1899), p. 165.

<sup>54</sup> Rogers, II, 424-426, 440-441; cf. Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, *Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands* (Boston, 1842), pp. 323-325. See, however, Rogers's "debonair" replies, in Gordon

American scholars as well as literary men found entertainment at Rogers's board. The historian of Spanish literature, George Ticknor, visited him in 1835 and 1838,<sup>56</sup> and thereafter entered into a cordial correspondence with him. Upon his return to the United States, he wrote to Rogers as a person who had "always taken a kind notice of American literature," and presented him with "a dramatic poem"<sup>56</sup> by a Miss L. J. Park—a poem, one suspects, not calculated to raise Rogers's opinion of American literature. Rogers, in turn, presented Ticknor with a copy of his own poems.<sup>57</sup> An anecdote will serve to show Rogers's respect for Ticknor's scholarship: "Mr. Samuel Rogers, the English poet, when Mr. Ticknor's book was published and lay on his table, said to Sir Charles Lyell, in allusion to it, 'I am told it has been the work of his life. How these Bostonians do work.'"<sup>58</sup> Perhaps there exists in this story a clue to the slenderness of Rogers's own volume of verse.

Rogers and the historian Prescott were also on the best of terms. Rogers "expressed a friendly interest" in Prescott's "historical labours,"<sup>59</sup> and sent him the magnificent 1838 edition of his own poems.<sup>60</sup> In return, Prescott ordered his publisher to send Rogers a special copy of *The Conquest of Mexico* (1843) "in a rich full binding, but not gaudy, [with] the leaves gilt."<sup>61</sup> Rogers had in mind a graceful compliment for Prescott; he

intended in his letter of thanks to refer to Hume's letter to Gibbon on receipt of the first volume of his history, in which he expresses his astonishment at an Englishman writing so learned a book in an age when every one had given himself up to faction. [He] did not mean to apply it to Americans particularly, but just as much to ourselves. Except science nothing was now written with care.<sup>62</sup>

S. Haight, *Mrs. Sigourney: The Sweet Singer of Hartford* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 67-68, 132-133.

<sup>56</sup> *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor* (Boston, 1877), I, 406, 410; II, 178.

<sup>56</sup> George Ticknor to Samuel Rogers, Boston, Nov. 20, 1838 (*Rogers*, II, 168).

<sup>57</sup> George Ticknor to Samuel Rogers, Boston, Dec. 30, 1840 (*ibid.*, II, 192).

<sup>58</sup> *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, II, 244 n.

<sup>59</sup> W. H. Prescott to Edward Everett, March 27, 1842 (*The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, ed. Roger Wolcott, Boston, 1925, p. 293).

<sup>60</sup> W. H. Prescott to Fanny Calderón de la Barca, April 17, 1840 (*ibid.*, p. 122). Cf. W. H. Prescott to Samuel Rogers, Jan. 27, 1840 (*Rogers*, II, 188).

<sup>61</sup> W. H. Prescott to James Rich, Boston, Oct. 15, 1843 (*The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, p. 401). Cf. W. H. Prescott to Samuel Rogers, Boston, Oct. 15, 1843 (*Rogers*, II, 236).

<sup>62</sup> *Rogers*, II, 225.

After the appearance of *The Conquest of Peru* (1847), Bancroft found that Rogers kept it lying "on his table in the midst of his beautiful pictures, by the side of the poems of Bryant."<sup>63</sup> In 1849 Rogers extended hospitality to Prescott's son, then making an European tour;<sup>64</sup> but the men themselves did not meet until 1850.<sup>65</sup> Prescott reached London on June 5, 1850, the day after the octogenarian Rogers had suffered an accident, having been knocked down by a carriage and having sustained a fractured thighbone;<sup>66</sup> but, though confined to his bed, Rogers received Prescott a number of times.<sup>67</sup> The historian wrote to Rogers, in 1852, that at their last interview "you told me, I recollect, that you intended to humbug the doctors, and that you may long continue to humbug them as successfully is the wish, I assure you, of many a friend of humanity and genius on this side of the water."<sup>68</sup>

Many such American friends Rogers undoubtedly had, many of them important public figures. Besides the three presidents-to-be, there were such men as Charles Sumner, Daniel Webster, and the ambassadors Edward Everett and George Bancroft. Webster had come in 1839;<sup>69</sup> and his letters to Rogers are indicative of a high personal regard.<sup>70</sup> It was Webster who gave Edward Everett a letter of introduction to Rogers,<sup>71</sup> and thus provided the impetus for a friendship which seems to have been unusually close. The men were often together,<sup>72</sup> and immediately after Everett's return to America he wrote Rogers, "I am now discontent with myself that I left you any peace."<sup>73</sup> The next year, 1846, he wrote Rogers urging that he permit the American painter Chester Harding to paint his portrait:

The only inducement I can hold out to you, in addition to those motives which your kind-heartedness will suggest, is that of rendering me, individually, an inestimable favour, and then the consideration that you will put it into my power to enrich my countrymen with a portrait of one whose name and fame they are spreading through the continent of

<sup>63</sup> George Bancroft to W. H. Prescott, July 20, 1847 (*The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott*, p. 661).

<sup>64</sup> Rogers, II, 339-340.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 374, 375.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 355.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 384.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 427.

<sup>69</sup> George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1870), p. 7. Cf. *Daniel Webster in England: Journal of Harriette Story Paige: 1839* (Boston, 1917), ed. Edward Gray, pp. 10-11 and *passim*.

<sup>70</sup> Rogers, II, 189-192, 318-319.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 191-192; II, 211-212.

<sup>72</sup> Frothingham, *op. cit.*, *passim*; see index.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264; Rogers, II, 278-279; cf. II, 255-256.



America. I suppose there is no painting of you in the United States. Are we not entitled to as much of your personality as can be transferred to canvas?<sup>74</sup>

Rogers could scarcely ignore so flattering a request; the portrait was painted and hung for years in Everett's dining room. His heirs presented the picture to Harvard College.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to such prominent men as these, there was a host of lesser persons who came to Rogers armed with letters of introduction. Charles Sumner wrote: "A friend told me yesterday what Rogers said the other day to him: 'The Americans I have seen have generally been very agreeable and accomplished men, but there is too many of them; they take up too much of our time.' This was delivered with the greatest gentleness."<sup>76</sup> Yet if Rogers sometimes felt that there were too many Americans, he did little to discourage their visits; he asked them to breakfasts at which, for example, "he had plovers' eggs served up on seaweed . . . oranges from Malta . . . sweetmeats from Turkey, marmalade from Scotland, and Dutch bread."<sup>77</sup> Even when he did not know a man, as, for instance, he did not know Halleck, he was capable of writing to that man's friends: "When he comes here again, he must not content himself with looking on the outside of my house, as I am told he once did, but knock and ring, and ask for me as for an old acquaintance."<sup>78</sup>

Such cordiality toward Americans was typical of Samuel Rogers; and no less cordial was his reception of American books. Irving he regarded as the greatest American prose writer, Bryant as the greatest American poet. He read and admired also the poetry of Longfellow and Halleck, and the prose of Cooper, Prescott, and, as George Livermore discovered, of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.—whose *Two Years Before the Mast* Rogers praised.<sup>79</sup> Many of his comments about American literature indicate more a desire to please his American friends than any regard for absolute critical truth. Rogers's prepossession for things American, and his love for his friends, gave his remarks about American writers a uniformly high note of praise. It is scarcely to the point, however, to note that his

<sup>74</sup> Rogers, II, 289-290.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 290.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 167.

<sup>77</sup> George Livermore's journal, April 28, 1845 (Charles Deane, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1869, p. 438).

<sup>78</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, III, 116.

<sup>79</sup> George Livermore's journal, April 28, 1845 (Charles Deane, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1869, pp. 438-439).

comments on American writers show rather too little discrimination. Rogers, it is true, was not a thinker; nor did American literature need a thinker as its European representative. Rather it needed a man who, like Rogers, was capable of feeling enthusiasm for American books and their authors, and of communicating that enthusiasm to others; it needed, moreover, a literary salon to which American authors could present their credentials and be received in good company. All these things Rogers provided. Few men, indeed, were as happily suited as propagandists for American letters. Rogers had an inbred esteem for America, the enthusiasm of a man of taste, and the necessary wealth and social position to make that enthusiasm felt. It would of course be impossible to estimate the full weight of his influence in behalf of American letters; but it is likely that no Englishman of his day was so well qualified, and did so much, to make American literature socially respectable.

# THOMAS CAMPBELL AND AMERICA

CHARLES DUFFY  
*Cornell University*

## I

Suddenly changing the current of conversation, Campbell exclaimed, with great warmth, "I love America very much—and I came very near being an American myself. My father passed the early portion of his life in Virginia. My uncle adopted it as his country; one of his sons was district-attorney under Washington's administration. My brother, Robert, settled in Virginia, and married a daughter of your glorious Patrick Henry. Yes, if I were not a Scotsman, I should like to be an American."<sup>1</sup>

TWO of the three sons of Archibald Campbell (the poet's grandfather), who was the last of the family to reside at Kirnan, the ancestral estate in Argyleshire, went to America to try their fortunes. Archibald, the second son, emigrated to Jamaica, where he lived some years as a Presbyterian minister. He subsequently moved to Virginia, where he spent the remainder of his life.<sup>2</sup> Alexander, the youngest son, born in 1710, was the poet's father. As a young man he left Scotland for Falmouth, Virginia, establishing himself in some business, probably tobacco. He there met Daniel Campbell, not a relative, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship and a partnership which endured forty years. Sometime prior to 1756, they both returned to Scotland and formed a tobacco importing business. On January 12, 1756, Alexander and Margaret Campbell

<sup>1</sup> William Beattie, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* (London, 1850), III, 420. Hereinafter references to this work will be designated *Beattie*. Campbell neglected to mention his brother Alexander, who lived for a time in Richmond and in New York. See Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1863), I, 252-253.

<sup>2</sup> It was one of his sons, deceased in 1795, who acted as district attorney under Washington. Irving says that Archibald Campbell's family "has uniformly maintained a highly respectable character. . . . He was a man of uncommon talents, and particularly distinguished for his eloquence" (*Analectic Magazine*, V, 236, March, 1815). For further information on Archibald and his family, see Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1872). Archibald Campbell had a school at Kirnan (as he named his house), in Westmoreland County. A photograph of Kirnan is included in Robert A. Lancaster's *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches* (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 323. It is likely that Madison and Monroe were among Campbell's pupils (*ibid.*). See also *American Notes & Queries*, I, 9 (April, 1941); I, 47 (June, 1941).

(daughter of Daniel) were married.<sup>3</sup> The business and family alike thrived. The Campbell firm built up a lively tobacco importing trade which flourished until the outbreak of the American Revolution. The family of Alexander and Margaret Campbell consisted of three girls and eight boys, six of whom reached maturity. Four of these brothers went to the New World: two to South America and two to North America.<sup>4</sup>

It is easily understandable that with relatives abroad and poor opportunities at home, Thomas Campbell, like many other West Highlanders, should repeatedly have thought of emigrating. Even while he was still an undergraduate at the University of Glasgow, he had planned joining his brothers in Virginia. On June 12, 1794, he wrote to James Thomson, a fellow student and his best friend, "I believe I shall spend no more winters in this country, as my purpose is to join my brothers in America. . . ."<sup>5</sup> In March, 1797, he complained in a letter to Thomson that he had failed to prepare himself for any particular employment. It appeared to him that he must become a teacher or else "emigrate to my brothers in America."<sup>6</sup> Some time later, in 1798, he wrote to his friend that his brothers had now "pressed" him to leave for Virginia. "I shall be crossing the Ecliptic," he wrote, "or mooring in the mouth of the Ohio! I have engaged to go to America; and in all human probability must sail in six weeks!"<sup>7</sup> He took tearful farewells of his friends, asked for a lock of Thomson's hair, and prepared himself for his embarkation, which was to have been in March. Once again the plan failed. To Thomson he wrote late in March that Archibald, his eldest brother, forbade him from leaving until he had acquired "more useful knowledge."<sup>8</sup> Beattie says after this Campbell dropped all

<sup>3</sup> Beattie, I, 8.

<sup>4</sup> For further details about Archibald, Alexander, John, and Robert Campbell, see Beattie, I, 22-27. Robert's marriage is spoken of in William Wirt Henry's *Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence and Speeches* (New York, 1891), II, 519, 636.

<sup>5</sup> Beattie, I, 114.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 172. Again, as in 1794, the plan fell through. This time the failure of friends to provide assistance thwarted the project.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 222. This time it seemed he actually would go. Evidently his use of the word *engaged* referred to the engagement which his brother Robert secured for him. In writing of Patrick Henry's last years at Red Hill, his grandson notes that the old man had engaged as a tutor Thomas Campbell, then a young man wishing to come to America (Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 519).

<sup>8</sup> Beattie, I, 225. Campbell was obviously cast down by these repeated failures to leave for America; he assured Thomson that "Ever since I knew what America was, I have loved and respected her government and state of society."

further negotiations, resolving never again to be deluded into a plan for emigrating.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless he did continue to cherish the idea of one day going to Virginia.<sup>10</sup> About this time (1798), his fortunes began to take a turn for the better. He was getting along with his poem, *The Pleasures of Hope*; establishing more satisfactory relationships with Mundell, the Edinburgh bookseller for whom he was preparing a translation of the *Medea* as well as an abridgment of Bryan Edwards's *West Indies*,<sup>11</sup> and, what was greatly helpful for him, he was beginning to widen the circle of his friends. Throughout 1798-99 he met many of the distinguished men of the capital. An old Glasgow friend, Hugh Park, introduced him to Robert Anderson, who first aided Campbell by encouraging him to become a writer.<sup>12</sup> It was through Anderson that he made the acquaintance of Mundell as well as such men as Henry Brougham, John Leyden (with whom he soon quarreled), Francis Jeffrey, William Erskine, Walter Scott, Henry Mackenzie, and Dugald Stewart. He had before met James Grahame, with whose family he visited in 1797.<sup>13</sup>

These new friends and new pursuits proved sufficient to distract his mind from his former unhappiness over his lack of a profession. The astonishingly sudden success of his *Pleasures of Hope*, published in April, 1799, reconciled him to remaining in Britain. Not until 1817, long after he had established himself at Sydenham, did his thoughts again turn toward emigrating to the New World. On May 26 of that year he wrote to Washington Irving that if things got worse he expected to finish his days in America, "flogging your little Spartans of Kentucky into a true sense and feeling of the beauties of Homer."<sup>14</sup> The suggestion that he was seeking a position in some American university is strengthened by a letter dated Sydenham, May 11, 1818, in which he requests Irving to secure him a professorship in the United States.<sup>15</sup> From time to time rumors

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 224.

<sup>10</sup> See his letter to Thomson written June 26, 1789, "I have it [emigration] still ultimately in view" (*ibid.*, I, 231).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 196, 231.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Robert Anderson (1750-1830), to whom Campbell dedicated *The Pleasures of Hope*, was a critic who had befriended many aspiring young writers. See the *North British Review*, X, 477 (Feb., 1849).

<sup>13</sup> Beattie, I, 217-220.

<sup>14</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1863), I, 364. See also (I, 371) a letter from Irving to Brevoort in which he writes that Campbell had an inclination to visit America, desiring to see the country and to visit his brother.

<sup>15</sup> Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (New York, 1935), I, 419.

appeared in print that he would visit America. N. P. Willis wrote chattily that he had heard "pretty authentically" of a visit Campbell intended to make, a kind of pilgrimage to the Pennsylvanian scene of *Gertrude of Wyoming*.<sup>16</sup> Then, too, there were attempts to have Campbell deliver a series of lectures in New York and Philadelphia.<sup>17</sup> None was successful.<sup>18</sup> His preoccupation with numerous details of his seven-volume anthology, *Specimens of the British Poets*, had undoubtedly its part in detaining him in England.

## II

Had Campbell actually made the journey to the New World, he would undoubtedly have found an enthusiastic welcome. His poetry had been accepted in the United States almost as rapidly as it had been in Great Britain. The reasons underlying his popularity here are easily ascertainable, and they shed light upon the character of his poetry as well as upon the literary preferences of the America of that time.

During the first third of the nineteenth century the most widely read contemporary poets in America were Byron, Moore, Scott, and Campbell; of these the first alone was English. Yet so much was Byron the opponent of tyranny and the apostle of revolution that his nationality was overlooked in the popular response to his glowing sentiments for freedom. Campbell, like Scott, found ready acceptance because the heavy immigration from north of the Tweed provided a potential public for him. By virtue of his nationality, he escaped whatever lingering rancor might have persisted in the young republic against Englishmen. As a liberal who championed "Transatlantic liberty," he won the admiration of a nation seeking recognition of its principles.

His exalted advocacy of freedom was a quality which endeared him to readers in this country. His appealing pleas for Poland, his stirring exhortations to the Greeks, to the Spaniards, and to the Americans, as well as his opposition to oppression of all sorts won for him the title, "Bard of Liberty."<sup>19</sup> Americans felt that he

<sup>16</sup> N. P. Willis, *Al 'Abri or the Tent Pitch'd* (New York, 1839), p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 371-372.

<sup>18</sup> The Irving-Brevoort correspondence about these proposed lecture tours exhibits Campbell's indecisiveness. For details of the plan and the causes of its failure, see *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> For expressions of Campbell's views on liberty, see *The Pleasures of Hope*, I, 339-382; 393-410; "Lines on Poland"; "Ode to the Germans"; "Stanzas to the Memory of the Spanish Patriots"; "The Spanish Patriot's Song"; *Gertrude of Wyoming*, III, vi, viii, 5-9.

espoused not British freedom merely, but universal freedom. "He has," wrote a reviewer in the *Analectic Magazine*, "uniformly consecrated his fine talents to the interests of morals, humanity, and freedom."<sup>20</sup> There was a conviction in the new country that he had a keen appreciation of the particular problems which beset the colonists in their recent war of liberation. It was remembered that his father had for a time lived in America and that a number of his relatives resided there. "He was born near the opening of our Revolution, and the connection of his family with this country must have familiarized him from his early years with our struggles for freedom."<sup>21</sup> This writer goes on to declare that Campbell "is the poet of liberty and humanity."<sup>22</sup> British critics of *Gertrude of Wyoming* found occasion to attack his sympathies, alleging that he had taken the part of the colonists against the mother country.<sup>23</sup> In the eyes of N. P. Willis, he was the "bard of freedom, generous and chivalric in all his strains."<sup>24</sup> H. T. Tuckerman wrote that the name of Thomas Campbell was nobly identified with the cause of freedom.<sup>25</sup>

Irving found such qualities as refinement, tenderness of sentiment, gracefulness of composition, and modest delineation of nature in Campbell's verse. One aspect in particular which Irving stresses was echoed by others: the poet's exalted moral tone: "No writer can surpass Mr. Campbell in the vestal purity and amiable morality of his muse. . . . He excels also in those eloquent flights of thoughts, by which, while fancy is exalted, the heart is made better."<sup>26</sup> It would indeed be difficult to find an objectionable line in all the poems which appeared in editions published during his

See also Harold William Thompson's *A Scottish Man of Feeling* (London and New York, 1931), pp. 336-337.

<sup>20</sup> V, 349 (April, 1815).

<sup>21</sup> *New Englander*, IX, 270 (May, 1851).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 289.

<sup>23</sup> The political implications of *Gertrude* were attacked by Scott, who said Campbell had chosen a subject—an episode in the Revolutionary War—which threw discredit upon the English; and that he should have written on a theme more favorable to the national character, not on "one in which Britain was disgraced by the atrocities of her pretended adherents" (*Quarterly Review*, I, 243, May, 1809). The *British Critic* declared the poem more American than English, standing, as it does, upon republican principles (XXXIV, 368, Sept., 1809). "This democratic whine" is beneath his muse, wrote another reviewer, condemning Campbell's countenancing of the rebellion (*Antijacobin*, XXXIV, 5-6, Sept., 1809). Mrs. Grant of Laggan found it provoking "that Campbell's democratic hoof should invariably and unnecessarily protrude itself . . ." (*Memoir and Correspondence*, London, 1844, I, 236).

<sup>24</sup> N. P. Willis, *Rural Letters* (Auburn, 1856), p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> H. T. Tuckerman, *Thoughts on Poets* (New York, 1846), pp. 206-207.

<sup>26</sup> *Analectic Magazine*, V, 249 (March, 1815).

lifetime. He escaped the attacks which Moore and Byron sustained. Following a quotation from *Don Juan* printed in the *American Monthly Magazine*, a passage from *The Pleasures of Hope* is inserted as an example "of that refinement which should characterize the nineteenth century."<sup>27</sup> His writing was found conducive to proper conduct and good taste, as he had devoted himself to the interests of virtue by never having "polluted with impurity the sacred fountains of poetry, or poisoned it with false philosophy or false morality."<sup>28</sup> *The Pleasures of Hope* was acclaimed by one American critic as an antidote against despair of the final regeneration of the human race.<sup>29</sup> S. G. Goodrich, the publisher, in explaining the popularity of Scott's verse partly on the basis of its high moral tone, added that Campbell and Rogers were, along with him, favorite poets from 1800 to 1815, and inferred that their purity was, like Scott's, one reason for their acceptance.<sup>30</sup> Margaret Fuller found Campbell's feeling towards women "refined and deep."<sup>31</sup> *Gertrude of Wyoming* appeared to her "holy in its purity and tenderness."<sup>32</sup> It was the opinion of Robert C. Sands that *Gertrude* is a work "as chaste as it is noble. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

Irving's brief biography of Campbell, prefixed to the American edition of *Gertrude of Wyoming*, published in 1809, stresses still another reason for the welcome accorded the poet in America. Irving mentions the almost total deficiency in the new country of those local associations produced by history and fiction; he adds that there is a charm pervading a place which has been celebrated by the historian or immortalized by the poet, "a charm that dignifies it in the eyes of the stranger, and endears it to the heart of the native."<sup>34</sup> This want was felt sharply in the second decade of the

<sup>27</sup> I, 294 (April, 1824). For a study of Byron's reception in America, see William Ellery Leonard, *Byron and Byronism in America* (Boston, 1905).

<sup>28</sup> *Analectic Magazine*, V, 349 (April, 1815).

<sup>29</sup> *New Englander*, IX, 268 (May, 1851).

<sup>30</sup> S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York, 1857), II, 103.

<sup>31</sup> Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Art, Literature, and the Drama*, ed. Arthur B. Fuller (New York, 1869), p. 69.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *The Writings of Robert C. Sands* (New York, 1834), I, 105.

<sup>34</sup> *Analectic Magazine*, V, 247 (March, 1815). Irving was probably expressing a gratitude felt by many when he wrote, "We have so long been accustomed to experience little else than contumely, misrepresentation, and very witless ridicule, from the British press; and we have such repeated proofs of the extreme ignorance and absurd errors that prevail in Great Britain respecting our country and its inhabitants, that, we confess, we were both surprized and gratified to meet a poet, sufficiently unprejudiced to conceive an idea of moral excellence and natural beauty on this side of the Atlantic" (*ibid.*, V, 244-245).



century and a number of magazine articles emphasize it.<sup>85</sup> Campbell, it was agreed, had by his *Gertrude*, done much to supply this lack. The Valley of the Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, was the setting of the poem; after 1809 it became more and more closely associated with his name.<sup>86</sup> Further than merely giving Americans added pride in their landscape and coloring it by literary associations, it encouraged native writers to use American scenes in their own productions. Joseph Rodman Drake pointed out that if a foreign poet could celebrate the beauties of the American scene, how much more fittingly might an American do the same. In 1832 he wrote his lines "To Fitz-Greene Halleck, Esq.":

Are there no scenes to touch the poet's soul?  
No deeds of arms to wake the lordly strain?  
Shall Hudson's billows unregarded roll?  
Has Warren fought, Montgomery died, in vain?  
Shame! that while every mountain, stream, and plain  
Hath theme for truth's proud voice or fancy's want,  
No native bard the patriot harp hath ta'en,  
But left to minstrel of a foreign strand  
To sing the beauteous scenes of nature's loveliest land.<sup>87</sup>

He called for some American poet to sing of romantic Wyoming. Thinking of the sad legend of Wyoming and of Campbell's poem, he continued:

Oh! if description's cold and nerveless tongue  
From stranger harp such hallowed strains could call,  
How doubly sweet the descant wild had rung,  
From one who, lingering round thy ruined wall,  
Had plucked thy mourning flowers and wept thy timeless fall.<sup>88</sup>

Within the next three or four years there were a few responses to Drake's questions. Already in 1821, Fitz-Greene Halleck had published a poem in Spenserian stanzas, "Wyoming," in which he quotes bits of *Gertrude*.<sup>89</sup> In speaking of the Susquehanna, he wrote:

<sup>85</sup> See *American Review*, IV, 245-246 (July, 1812); *Port Folio*, N. S., V, 55-59 (Jan., 1815); *North American Review*, I, 111-112, 120-121 (May, 1815).

<sup>86</sup> Sands, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105.

<sup>87</sup> First published in the *New York Mirror*, IX, 273 (March 3, 1832). See Frank Lester Pleadwell, M.D., *The Life of Joseph Rodman Drake* (Boston, 1935), pp. 195, 196, 198 nn.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Among these bits are such phrases as "Iberian boot," "Arrowy frieze and wedged ravelin," and the line, "On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming," which is the opening verse

Nature hath made thee lovelier than the power  
Even of Campbell's pen hath pictured.<sup>40</sup>

In 1836, Mrs. Sigourney began her narrative poem, "Zinzendorff":

'Twas summer in Wyoming.—  
Through the breast  
Of that fair vale, the Susquehanna roam'd.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to employing the setting which Campbell used, she makes direct reference to his Gertrude:

Yet, 'tis not meet  
That I should tell of war, or woo the tones  
Of that high harp, which, struck in England's halls,  
Hath made the name of Gertrude, and the love  
Of sad Wyoming's chivalry, a part  
Of classic song.<sup>42</sup>

There had been abundant prose accounts of the massacre of Wyoming. In "Advertisement" to *Gertrude*, Campbell wrote, "Most of the popular histories of England, as well as of the American war, give an authentic account of the desolation of Wyoming. . . ."<sup>43</sup> After 1809, his name became associated with the valley. *Al 'Abri or the Tent Pitch'd*, by N. P. Willis, published in 1839, likewise celebrated the Susquehanna in letters which "embody a freshly-drawn picture of the scenery and mode of life on the banks of the beautiful river, celebrated by the muse of Campbell. . . ."<sup>44</sup> This identification of Campbell's poem with the valley is again apparent in Stone's *Poetry and History of Wyoming* (1841), a volume containing Irving's biographical sketch, an illustrated reprinting of *Gertrude*, and a two hundred fifty page history of the ill-fated village.<sup>45</sup> Literary travelers like Oliver Wendell Holmes remem-

of Campbell's poem. For the abiding influence exerted by Campbell upon Halleck, see Nelson Frederick Adkins's *Fitz-Greene Halleck* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 191-195, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Fitz-Greene Halleck, *Alnwick Castle* (New York, 1836), p. 33.

<sup>41</sup> Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, *Zinzendorff and Other Poems* (New York, 1836), p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Campbell, *Gertrude of Wyoming* (London, 1809), Sig. B2.

<sup>44</sup> N. P. Willis, *Al 'Abri or the Tent Pitch'd* (New York, 1839), Preface.

<sup>45</sup> William Leete Stone, *The Poetry and History of Wyoming* (New York, 1841). In the preface Stone writes: "That a horrible massacre was once perpetrated there, and that the fearful tragedy has been commemorated in the undying numbers of Campbell, everybody knows" (p. iii). See also George Peck, D.D., *Wyoming* (New York, 1858), pp. 16, 69, 71, 87, for references to Campbell in connection with Wyoming Valley. "Campbell's Ledge," an abrupt bluff at the head of the valley, is not named after the poet, but after

bered Campbell's lines as they passed along the Susquehanna.<sup>46</sup>

Intricacy of thought or phrase is rare in Campbell. His mode of expression is largely direct and uninvolved; there is neither complexity nor subtlety in his poetry. Accompanying this almost child-like simplicity was a gift which he had for expressing obvious thoughts in memorable words. Certain of his verses have a pleasing succinctness and finality which gave them wide currency both in Great Britain and in the United States, especially among school children and elocutionists.<sup>47</sup>

The above-mentioned purity of his verse was not a deterrent to his popularity, however, for he was a manly poet, whose martial stanzas, written in stirring dactyls, might be declaimed in resonant defiance. And so they were. He was widely read and enthusiastically quoted. "The school-boys have him by heart, and what lives upon their lips will live and be loved forever."<sup>48</sup> His "Ode to Kemble," "To the Rainbow," "Hallowed Ground," and a number of passages from *Gertrude* are cited by H. T. Tuckerman as lending themselves readily to the repertoire of the classroom.<sup>49</sup> The verses of few other modern poets "are more closely entwined with our early associations . . . and what can be sweeter than the homage of youth?"<sup>50</sup> He is, continues the same author, one of the "kings of school literature in this country. . . ."<sup>51</sup>

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an unfortunate man who, pursued by Indians, leaped over the side of the bluff into the friendly arms of death (*ibid.*, p. 348).

<sup>46</sup> Holmes writes that as he watched the river his mind turned to the poet, and his heart renewed its allegiance to him "who made it lovely to the imagination as well as to the eye, and so identified his fame with the noble stream that rolls it 'mingling with his fame forever'" (*Pages from an Old Volume of Life*, Cambridge, 1891, p. 49).

<sup>47</sup> Among his lines long popular are the following:

'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view (*The Pleasures of Hope*, I, l. 7).

The wolf's long howl from Oonalaska's shore (*ibid.*, I, l. 66).

And Freedom shrieked—as Kosciuszko fell (*ibid.*, I, l. 382).

Like angel-visits, few and far between (*ibid.*, II, l. 378).

Coming events cast their shadows before ("Lochiel's Warning," l. 56).

A stoic of the woods—a man without a tear (*Gertrude of Wyoming*, I, xxiii, l. 9).

The meteor flag of England ("Ye Mariners of England," l. 28).

Spare, woodman, spare the beechen tree ("The Beech-Tree's Petition," l. 2).

Wed, or cease to woo ("The Maid's Remonstrance," l. 6).

To live in hearts we leave behind

Is not to die ("Hallowed Ground," ll. 35-36).

To bear is to conquer our fate ("Lines Written on Visiting a Scene in Argyleshire," l. 36).

<sup>48</sup> N. P. Willis, *Rural Letters*, p. 118.

<sup>49</sup> H. T. Tuckerman, *Thoughts on Poets*, p. 209, *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

An examination of nineteenth-century fourth, fifth, and sixth grade readers and manuals of elocution reveals that he long continued to be a favorite, though Byron, Scott, Thomson, and Moore, among others, surpass him.<sup>52</sup> It was not alone Campbell's poetry which the elocutionists recited; his prose occasionally rose to rhetorical heights. In a now little remembered passage on the launching of a ship of the line, he delivered himself in the grand manner: "All the days of battle and the nights of danger which she had to encounter, all the ends of the world which she had to visit, and all that she had to do and suffer for her country, rose in awful presentiment before the mind; and when the heart gave her a benediction, it was like one pronounced on a living being."<sup>53</sup>

Singly or in combination these qualities won Campbell a hearing among Americans. Besides revealing the characteristics of his poetry, they offer comment upon the literary predilections of the nation during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The simple declamatory forthrightness of his lines, their irreproachable moral tone, as well as their resonant appeal for liberty, endeared him to his public. Native readers found his sentiments congenial and encouraging. Notwithstanding his foreign residence, he was not for them a foreign poet: it is difficult to think of another writer who could have settled on the banks of the Susquehanna with greater assurance of welcome than he. The Pantisocratic group, one may be sure, would have proved strange settlers indeed. Not so Campbell, who was "in spirit as much an American as an English poet."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> J. H. Dwyer, *An Essay on Elocution* (Utica, N. Y., 1829); Moses Severance, *The American Manual* (Geneva, N. Y., 1834); J. R. Boyd, *Elements of Rhetoric and Literary Criticism* (New York, 1848); William D. Swan, *District School Reader* (Philadelphia, 1852); Charles W. and Joshua C. Sanders, *Fifth Book* (New York, 1856); Epes Sargent, *First-Class Standard Reader* (Boston, 1855); McGuffey's *New Eclectic Speaker* (Cincinnati and New York, 1858); Epes Sargent, *Standard Reader* (Boston, 1860); G. S. Hillard, *The Fifth Reader* (Boston, 1863); Richard Greene Parker and J. Madison Watson, *National Fifth Reader* (New York, 1869); McGuffey's *Sixth Eclectic Reader* (Cincinnati and New York, 1879); John R. Peaslee, *Graded Selections for Memorizing* (Cincinnati and New York, 1880); Samuel Mecutchen, *Fifth Reader* (Philadelphia, 1883); Robert Kidd, *New Elocution and Vocal Culture* (Cincinnati and New York, 1883). The most frequently reprinted selections are from *The Pleasures of Hope*, particularly the passages about Warsaw and Kosciusko (I, 357-382); the evils of skepticism (II, 295-358); and the triumph of hope (II, 421-474). "Lord Ullin's Daughter" appears next most frequently, with the "Rainbow," "Lochiel," and *Gertrude of Wyoming* (III, xxxv-xxxix) following.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets* (London, 1819), I, 266.

<sup>54</sup> *New Englander*, IX, 289 (May, 1851).

# BRITISH INTEREST IN AMERICAN LITERATURE DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AS REFLECTED BY MUDIE'S SELECT LIBRARY

CLARENCE GOHDES

*Duke University*

ONE OF THE MOST reliable indexes to literary taste in Victorian England is, of course, the catalogues of the circulating libraries. In a fashion they correspond to the lists of works chosen by our contemporary book clubs: while they reveal little or nothing about the reading of the poorer classes or of the most discriminating folk, they reflect pretty accurately the preferences of the large group of readers who, possessed of better than average discernment, provide probably the chief market for new books not intended for the schools or for special interests such as religion, technology, economics, and so on. But the catalogues of the Victorian circulating libraries are much more important to the historian than the selections of present-day book clubs ever will be because they mirror the taste of a far greater proportion of the book-reading population. The reason for this fact lies in the English practice of *borrowing* rather than *buying* a new book. Gladstone in 1852 expressed the situation very clearly:

The purchase of new publications is scarcely ever attempted by anybody. You go into the houses of your friends, and unless they buy books of which they are in professional want, or happen to be persons of extraordinary wealth, you don't find copies of new publications on their tables purchased by themselves, but you find something from the circulating library. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The survival until late in the nineties of the borrowing habit as the dominant element in the immediate circulation of a *new* work is proved by the format of most of the new novels. The three-decker was the logical means of enabling the circulating libraries to keep up with the demand for new fiction, for the breaking up of a story

<sup>1</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., CXXI, 595 (May 12, 1852). For examples of similar comments of a later date, see *Tinsley's Magazine*, X, 412 ff. (1872); and XXX, 389 ff. (1882).

into three parts permitted three different subscribers to read the same novel in a relatively short time. In general, it may be said that during most of the nineteenth century the circulating libraries decided the immediate fate of a new book of the literary sort and that only the cheap reprints, issued for the most part in popular series corresponding to "Everyman's Library" today, afford a better quantitative index to the book-reading habits of the period.<sup>2</sup>

Of the various companies that catered to the book-borrowers of Victorian England by all odds the most important was Mudie's Select Library, which seems to have forged ahead of its many rivals shortly after it was established in 1842.<sup>3</sup> And at the time of the death of the founder, Charles Edward Mudie, in 1890 the number of its subscribers was estimated at twenty-five thousand.<sup>4</sup> For years it had been so well known that to practically every book reader of the period the word *circulating-library* and the name *Mudie* were almost synonymous. Accordingly, the annual catalogues of this one "Select Library" provide an unusually reliable illustration of the literary taste of Victorian England.

The student of the reception of American literature in the British Isles during the days of the good Queen will also find in them a sure proof of the amazing increase in British reading of transatlantic authors which characterizes the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, during the earlier years of the library no catalogues were issued; and, more unfortunately, only a few copies of the later volumes are to be found in the United States. As a result the present attempt at illustration is severely limited. However, I believe that the general picture of the enormous rise of British interest in American literature between the period of our Civil War and the middle nineties can be made clear by an analysis of the catalogues for the 1860's and for 1896; and this is what I propose to undertake in the present article.

<sup>2</sup> In a forthcoming volume I shall present certain illustrations of the place of the American book in the British cheap series.

<sup>3</sup> William Tinsley, *Random Recollections of an Old Publisher* (London and Paris, 1905), I, 69 ff. For the beginnings of the circulating library in England, see Arthur Waugh, *A Hundred Years of Publishing* (London, 1930), pp. 100 ff. There is no history of Mudie's, but the following works supply bits of information, as does also the sketch of the founder in the D.N.B.: Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers* (London, n.d.), pp. 421-432; Matilda Betham-Edwards, *Mid-Victorian Memories* (London, 1919), p. 152; Raymond Blathwayt, *Looking down the Years* (London [1935]), chap. xiv; obituary notice of Mudie in *Publishers' Circular*, LIII, 1417 (Nov. 1, 1890).

<sup>4</sup> *Publishers' Circular*, loc. cit.

American literature was well represented in Mudie's Library from the very beginning, for the bookseller who founded it was a radical in politics and a liberal in religion—and thus was more favorably disposed toward the democracy across the sea than most of his fellows. From time to time, as was the common practice, he ventured into publishing on his own account and in the forties brought out works by men like Emerson and Lowell. But his collection of books provides an even more astonishing interest in America, as will be evident from the following description of its origin:

He collected for his own use a little library of books of a progressive kind, such as the writings of Theodore Parker, Emerson's and Margaret Fuller's periodical the *Dial*, etc. At that time they were not easily accessible in London, and he converted his collection into a small circulating library, as an adjunct to his ordinary business. I was one of the not very numerous circle of readers who gladly availed themselves of what was then a unique collection, and who were additionally attracted to King Street by the intelligence and amiability of their owner. That collection was the nucleus of what has become, I suppose, the largest circulating library in the world.<sup>5</sup>

One may be sure that Charles Mudie did not fail to keep the "transcendentalists" on his shelves even after his business had increased to the point of becoming a limited stock-company with various branches, for to them he owed his first success. Fittingly enough, at the time of his death in 1890 the chief organ of the book-trade noted that an American work had been one of his most recent "successes"; three thousand copies of Stanley's *In Darkest Africa* (1890) had been bought to satisfy the demands of his subscribers.<sup>6</sup>

But to turn to the 1860's. First of all, an analysis of the catalogue for 1862 may be in order, issued at a time when official British interest in the United States was of the hostile variety which lent such gloom to the father of Henry Adams. In addition to a good many volumes devoted to travel in America (7 books on California, in particular), all the writings of Washington Irving were still in demand, as well as the biography by nephew Pierre. Holmes was represented by *Elsie Venner*, the *Autocrat*, the *Professor*, and

<sup>5</sup> Francis Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches* (New York, 1893), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Publishers' Circular*, loc. cit.

a collection of his essays, but there was no volume of his poems. Lowell was listed, with *The Biglow Papers* and a collection of his verse, while three volumes represented the works of Emerson. Longfellow was, of course, in favor, with a collection of poems, *Hiawatha*, *The Golden Legend*, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, and his two novels all in circulation. Except for the novelists, Horace Bushnell, G. W. Curtis, Poe (with both poems and tales), N. P. Willis, and Bayard Taylor were the remaining chief authors other than the historians Motley, Bancroft, and Prescott—and, of course, the radicals Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, and Dr. Channing. The special section devoted to works of fiction included everything by Irving, Cooper, Mrs. Stowe, and "Sam Slick," and various titles by such popular ladies as "Fanny Fern," Maria Cummins, and Susan Warner. *Prue and I* found a place, along with all the novels of Melville excepting *Redburn*, *White-Jacket*, and *Pierre*. Hawthorne's name is followed by the titles of five works: *The Blithedale Romance*, *Mosses from an Old Manse*, *Twice-Told Tales*, *Tanglewood Tales*, and *Transformation*.

Going on now to the catalogue for 1869, one notes that the aftermath of the Civil War is marked by an increased interest in transatlantic authors. Thus the Beechers, Henry Ward and Lyman, have joined their more distinguished relative, Harriet, who remains in high favor; biographies of P. T. Barnum, S. G. Goodrich, Parker, Prescott, and others are listed; and authors like Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, "Sam Slick," and Susan Warner are represented with more titles than before. Bryant appears, but with only one volume after his name—*Letters from Spain*; evidently the subscribers to Mudie's preferred Elihu Burritt, for the "learned blacksmith" accounts for five titles. Howells comes into the picture with *Venetian Life* and *Italian Journeys*, for books of travel were still strong competitors of fiction, a fact which makes the inclusion of more volumes by Bayard Taylor, in addition to three of his novels, not at all surprising. N. P. Willis still holds on, with three works; but Poe's tales have dropped out, leaving only the poems. Cooper and Irving appear to be as popular as ever, for the number of their titles is large; but Melville survives only with *The Whale* and *Israel Potter*, the latter being the work of his which was probably the most widely read in nineteenth-century England. (It was included in a number of the cheap reprint series and was sold at a very low



price.) Ik Marvel and W. W. Story have one volume each in the 1869 catalogue, and scholars like Louis Agassiz, George P. Marsh, and Ticknor appear with several titles.

Jumping on now to the offerings of Mudie's for 1896, one is of course impressed by the triumph of the feminine reader, and of the novel. And the enormous expansion of the number of American authors seems also to be an outstanding general feature. By 1896 the Select Library was circulating American magazines, such as the *Atlantic*, the *Century*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's*, the older issues in bound volumes. There were also compilations such as *Essays and Reviews from the North American Review* and anthologies of short stories gathered up from prominent American periodicals. The names of some of the old radical favorites of the founder were still carried, but they were represented as the subjects for biographies—Channing, Parker, and Margaret Fuller, for example. Horace Bushnell, Washington Gladden, Phillips Brooks (11 volumes), and Henry Ward Beecher (6 works and 2 biographies) must have come closer to the tastes of the subscribers late in the century than the Unitarians. Emerson, however, carries on with six of his own titles and an equal number of books about him. There is a biography of Bronson Alcott, but the reason for its presence was doubtless the interest excited by his daughter, Louisa, whose life and letters appears on the list along with practically everything that she wrote.

According to the number of titles represented—in many ways a misleading criterion but perhaps one serviceable enough for present purposes—the American contingent is led by such authors as Howells (22 novels; 5 works not fiction), Henry James (22 volumes of fiction; 4 nonfiction), Cooper, F. M. Crawford, Bret Harte, "Sam Slick," Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Irving, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Frank Stockton, Mrs. Stowe, Mark Twain, Susan Warner, Bayard Taylor (a biography and 8 works, chiefly travel), and Charles Dudley Warner. Bryant is represented by only a biographical sketch; Poe by two biographies (William F. Gill and J. H. Ingram) and a collection of poems; Melville by *Typee*, *Omoo*, *White-Jacket*, and *Moby-Dick*, the first two works being classified as nonfiction. The decline of Melville's reputation as a novelist is indicated by the fact that his name is not separately listed in the section of the catalogue devoted to fiction. Whitman's name appears and is followed by the titles of the books by Bucke and

Symonds, but there is no mention of *Leaves of Grass*; even Whittier seems to have been more highly approved, for the Quaker has two biographies after his name, along with five volumes of his prose and verse.<sup>7</sup> Thoreau is represented by three titles: *Selections*, edited by Salt, *Summer*, and *Walden*; and there are likewise three biographical works devoted to him—by Page, Salt, and Sanborn. Lowell was in demand, if one may judge by the listing of his letters, the book on him by F. H. Underwood, a set of collected works, and several individual titles.

Of the historians, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Ticknor, Parkman, and Mahan, all appear. A collection of "Easy-Chair" essays by G. W. Curtis is announced as available, but John Burroughs with six titles, John Fiske, with eleven, and Agnes Repplier, with five, dominate the field so far as the newer group of American essayists is concerned. Other than the old guard of poets already mentioned, T. B. Aldrich, Eugene Field, Sidney Lanier, Joaquin Miller (7 works, chiefly verse), Louise Chandler Moulton, and R. H. Stoddard represent the muse of America. The number of books devoted to travel in the United States is now very respectable indeed. There are seven titles after the name of Abraham Lincoln, two works by Alice Morse Earle on New England, and four specimens of the writing of Theodore Roosevelt, including *The Winning of the West*.

As previously stated, Mark Twain appears in full auctorial panoply, and "Sam Slick," Frank Stockton, and Charles Dudley Warner likewise, but among the eight titles by C. G. Leland there is only one of the Breitmann books. H. C. Bunner and Kate Douglas Wiggin appear with a sample or two of their wares, and the only anthology of American humor other than "Sam Slick's" collection is *The Humour of America*, edited by James Barr. Franklin's *Autobiography* is listed as well as three works on its author. Agassiz, Allston, Burritt, Frederick Douglass, and William Lloyd Garrison appear as the subjects of biographies, and Agassiz's *Journey to Brazil* is placed after his name, as are three works after that of Burritt. There are four titles by Henry George and seven by the Pennells, Joseph and Elizabeth R.

While nonfictional works by George Washington Cable, Harold

<sup>7</sup> It should be remembered that inexpensive editions sometimes drove books off Mudie's shelves, and that there were a number of cheap reprints of Whitman in England during the nineties.

Frederic, and Sarah Orne Jewett are mentioned in the 1896 catalogue, only a few of their more typical efforts appear. Not so, however, with Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, whose titles outnumber those of all three of the last-mentioned authors combined. Favorites of days gone by, like Irving, Cooper, Taylor, Hawthorne, and Susan Warner, apparently continued to please the subscribers. Of the newer short-story writers, other than Harte and James, Mary Wilkins took a high place with eight titles. One may well despair of indicating the wholesale invasion of fictionists from across the sea, and, accordingly, resort merely to a list of those whose titles were not sufficiently numerous to justify the compilers of the catalogue in giving them a separate place by themselves. Here is the list: Lafcadio Hearn, Albion Tourgée, E. P. Roe, Constance Woolson, T. N. Page, J. C. Harris, Mary Mapes Dodge, T. B. Aldrich, Lew Wallace, H. B. Fuller, Amélie Rives, F. Hopkinson Smith, Mary Murfree, Fitz-James O'Brien, Edward Eggleston, Brander Matthews, J. T. Trowbridge, W. W. Story, R. H. Davis, Hamlin Garland, and Margaret Deland.

The tremendous spread in the popularity of American writers in Great Britain during the latter part of the nineteenth century is, I believe, well illustrated in the foregoing analysis of three of the Mudie catalogues. It is apparent that the passage of the American International Copyright Act of 1891 did not cut down the consumption of transatlantic literature on the part of the British book-reading public, although, assuredly, that law must have reduced English piracy of American works. And, in general, it may be remarked that if Sydney Smith's question had been broached in the nineties he would have had a double reputation as a humorist. For many a decade in the nineteenth century the British read more books from America than from all the rest of the world combined, and anyone who doubts the statement ought to be satisfied by a glance at the catalogues of the leading book-distributing agency of the Victorian period.

## H. H. BOYESEN: A NOTE ON IMMIGRATION

GEORGE L. WHITE, JR.

*Amherst College*

AMERICAN fiction in the 1870's and 1880's began to become conscious of "place and race," and an obvious reason for this interest was the fact of immigration.<sup>1</sup> Waves of people from foreign lands were breaking across this country. The American writer who was at all aware of the subject matter around him could not fail to become interested in ascertaining how much these foreign people were contributing to the growth of our national mind. Many writers turned their attention to immigration. Just the quantity of the material they produced is noteworthy. Almost every issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Scribner's Monthly* (including its continuation under the name of the *Century*), from 1870 to 1885 carried an article, short story, essay, poem, or serialized novel, the purpose of which was to present to America some aspect of the melting pot.

As American scholars seek to evaluate and interpret the nineteenth century, they are forced to consider much of this immigrant literature, because it is documentary evidence of the social and economic changes that were occurring in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As our literary history is about to be rewritten, we find much of the emphasis shifting from the leading figures to these somewhat obscure writers who wrote more history than literature, more fact than fiction.

The aim of this paper is to present and evaluate the contribution of one of these writers on immigration, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen. He needs consideration because his writings discuss the problems and the achievements of one of the great migrations, that of the Scandinavian. Though Boyesen is less well remembered than Sarah Orne Jewett, George Cary Eggleston, Constance Fenimore Woolson, to say nothing of Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and W. D. Howells, he is extrinsically important because his work presents more aspects of the problem of immigration than that of any other writer of this period.

Boyesen's life and work spanned the entire late period of the Scandinavian migration. He began his literary career in America

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Hobson Quinn, *American Fiction* (New York, 1936), chap. xvi.

with two poems, "A Norse Stev" and "Thoralf and Synnöf," both of which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1872.<sup>2</sup> His influence ended with stories and articles published the year of his death, 1895.<sup>3</sup> Between these two dates, 1872 and 1895, the Scandinavians came to this country in the thousands.<sup>4</sup> Boyesen observed them, was himself a part of their migration, and wrote about their problems with the authenticity of a careful historian.

It was William Dean Howells who first encouraged Boyesen to write of his experiences. Howells met Boyesen, as he says, at the home of Professor Francis J. Child,<sup>5</sup> who had encountered the stocky Norwegian in the Harvard library. Some time late in 1870 or early in 1871 (the exact date seems to have been forgotten by all concerned) Child brought the two men together. At their first meeting Boyesen read to the new editor of the *Atlantic* parts of a novel in manuscript called *Gunnar*. Howells was interested in this story of Norse superstitions, social problems, love, and descriptions of Norway. He was interested in Boyesen himself. He found in Boyesen a quick, literary mind, a mind concerned, as was his own, over the growth of realism in the literary world. He wrote: "Boyesen walked home with me, and for a fortnight after I think we parted only to dream of the literature which we poured out upon each other in waking moments."<sup>6</sup> Literature made them such friends that Howells wrote Henry James, September 1, 1872: "My friend Boyesen has been here all summer but has now gone back to Urbana. I'm to print a Norwegian story for him next year."<sup>7</sup>

At the time he met Howells, Boyesen was twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. He had lived in America for only one year, yet here he was about to become an *Atlantic* author. The speed with which he had adapted himself to the American scene had helped. Almost as soon as he had arrived, in 1869, he had begun to Americanize himself. In 1870 he had become the assistant editor of the *Fremad*, a Scandinavian paper published in Chicago. In the sum-

<sup>2</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XXIX, 210 ff. (Feb., 1872), and XXX, 403 ff. (Oct., 1872).

<sup>3</sup> See "The Nixy's Chord," *Cosmopolitan*, XIX, 523 ff. and 635 ff. (May and Oct., 1895).

<sup>4</sup> See T. C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America* (Northfield, Minn., 1931), and G. M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1932).

<sup>5</sup> W. D. Howells, *Literary Friends and Acquaintance* (New York, 1900), p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>7</sup> Mildred Howells (ed.), *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1928), I, 172.

mer of 1870 he had met President Sewall of Urbana College, a Swedenborgian school in Urbana, Ohio, who had offered him a position as tutor in Latin and Greek.<sup>8</sup> Boyesen had accepted the position, because, he wrote, he would have "an opportunity of living in a community where the English language was spoken exclusively thus enabling me to acquire a perfect mastery of its manifold resources."<sup>9</sup> From the first Boyesen's writings showed how successful he was in acquiring a "perfect mastery" of English, and we also have Howells's comment on the unusualness of his accomplishment.

. . . I can remember but five other writers born to different languages who have handled English with anything like his mastery. Two Italians, Ruffini, the novelist, and Gallenga, the journalist; two Germans, Carl Schurz and Carl Hillebrand, and the Dutch novelist Maarten Maartens, have some of them equalled but none of them surpassed him. Yet he was a man grown when he began to speak and to write English, though I believe he studied it somewhat in Norway before he came to America. What English he knew he learned the use of here, and in the measure of its idiomatic vigor we may be proud of it as Americans.<sup>10</sup>

But what is more to the point, Boyesen proved himself that foreignness was but an attitude of mind. It could be peeled off at will.

While Boyesen was at Urbana, 1873, Howells published *Gunnar*.<sup>11</sup> This novel brought the twenty-five-year-old immigrant "fame and friendship."<sup>12</sup> More than that, *Gunnar* pointed out to Boyesen exactly where the material for his fiction could be found. At the close of the novel, the heroine, Ragnhild, and the hero, Gunnar, look to America for the chance to solve their social problems. There are no great social differences in America. They will migrate. In that ending Boyesen found his subject. He had gone through the process of immigration, he would write about it.

Boyesen knew more than his own individual experience of immigration. While at Urbana, from 1870 until 1874, he traveled through Ohio, Illinois, and other Western states observing his own people as they lived in their settlements, and as they lived in American settlements. He studied their reactions to America.<sup>13</sup> It was

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Boyesen in New York *Daily Tribune* (July 25, 1878), p. 5, col. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>11</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXII, 13 ff. (July, 1873), and following issues.

<sup>12</sup> W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>13</sup> Letter of Boyesen in New York *Daily Tribune* (July 25, 1878), p. 5, col. 3.

at Urbana, furthermore, that Boyesen came against a social problem that he immediately associated with one of the hardships that attend immigration—the animus of the small-town mind. This experience he never forgot. He never forgot it because Urbana would not let him. Urbana was not through with him even when he became Professor of German at Cornell University in 1874.<sup>14</sup> For in 1877 Boyesen published a short story in *Scribner's Monthly* called "Swart Among the Buckeyes."<sup>15</sup> The story so offended the people of Urbana that President Sewall felt called upon to write a letter to the New York *Daily Tribune* denying the implications of the story, and adding, "It was not quite true that the entire community of Urbana have been aroused by this matter."<sup>16</sup> Boyesen's reply indicates how active he had been in satisfying his curiosity about America, and how well he knew the problems of the West:

My sketch in Scribners entitled "Swart Among the Buckeyes" was, to my surprise, interpreted as being directly aimed at the citizens of Urbana. . . . During my sojourn in the West—not only in Ohio, but in Illinois and journeys through other Western states, I naturally made many observations which afterwards were incorporated in the above named story.<sup>17</sup>

Boyesen's first encounter with the concern of the small town over its reputation made him so conscious of the possibilities of such a theme that, as Howells might have done, he tied it in with many of his immigrant stories.<sup>18</sup>

When Boyesen settled down to the writing of his contribution to American fiction, he used the same two ideas that he had used in *Gunnar*. First, he presented the Scandinavian to the American reader by a discussion of the scenery, traditions, and characteristics of Scandinavia. Secondly, he discussed what immigration meant, to both the new and the old country, and to the individual Scandinavian himself. These stories that employ the informational theme are background stories that are really fictionalized travel-talks about Scandinavia. They were accepted by the magazines of the times,

<sup>14</sup> See obituary notice, New York *Daily Tribune* (Oct. 5, 1895), p. 7, col. 5, and *D.A.B.*

<sup>15</sup> XIV, 547 (Aug., 1877).

<sup>16</sup> Letter dated June 28, 1878, published July 1, 1878, p. 5, col. 3.

<sup>17</sup> See n. 8, above.

<sup>18</sup> Briefly, the rest of Boyesen's life may be summarized as follows: He married Miss Elizabeth Keen, the daughter of a Chicago publisher, in 1878. In 1881 he resigned his position at Cornell, moved to New York as a free-lance writer. In 1882 he became a professor at Columbia, a post he held until his death in 1895. See New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1895, p. 7, col. 5, and *D.A.B.*

particularly *Scribner's Monthly*, because they introduced the strange, the faraway, the remote. Some of these stories, for example, "Truls, the Nameless" (1875), discuss such a general subject as the effect of music upon the Norwegian.<sup>19</sup> Others, such as "A Scientific Vagabond" (1875), abound in legends, superstitions, and descriptions of the Norwegian countryside.<sup>20</sup> Still others, such as "Asathor's Vengeance" (1876), "Under the Glacier" (1881), and "Good For Nothing" (1876), are little essays written to carry information about Scandinavia.<sup>21</sup>

Though this first group of stories is informational, it is his treatment of the second theme that makes Boyesen important today. There were before him, to be sure, isolated attempts to observe and record the phenomenon of the Scandinavian immigrant. Washington Irving in his *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (1809) used the Swedes on the Delaware as a vehicle for humor. James Kirke Paulding did the same in *Konigsmarke, or the Long Finne* (1823), and Lemuel Sawyer, in *Printz Hall: A Record of New Sweden* (1839), used the Scandinavian as a springboard for broad satire. But it was Boyesen, in the 1870's, who looked at the problem of immigration with the realistic eyes of a Howells, and saw in it material for thoughtful fiction.

Boyesen divided the immigration problem into five parts. First, what was the Scandinavian like? This question he tried to answer in his travel fiction. Second, why did he leave his home? Third, what was the reaction of the mother country to his leaving? Fourth, what success or failure came to him in America, and why? Fifth, what was the process called Americanization? What did it do to the Scandinavian, and what did the Scandinavian, in turn, do for America? These last questions he attempted to answer in the bulk of his work.

Boyesen was on familiar ground when he chose to answer these five questions. He had gone through the ordeal of migration from the early inability to handle the language, to the final step, complete and irrevocable estrangement from the home country. But the impetus for his writing was more than personal. Boyesen tried to link the problem of immigration with the larger problem of the

<sup>19</sup> *Scribner's Monthly*, IX, 731 ff. (April, 1875).

<sup>20</sup> *Tales from Two Hemispheres* (Boston, 1875).

<sup>21</sup> The first and third are included in *Tales from Two Hemispheres*. The second appears in *Ilka on the Hill Tops and Other Stories* (New York, 1881).



novel of social protest. In an essay called "The American Novelist and His Public," he wrote that his aim had been to write the novel of purpose, not merely the novel of the immigrant: "Art can engage in no better pursuit than to stimulate noble and healthful thought on all matters of human concern and thereby clear the prejudiced mind and raise the average of human happiness."<sup>22</sup> One of the matters of "human concern" for Boyesen was the welfare and happiness of the northern immigrant. This immigrant had become by 1870 a strong force in the formation of Mid-Western America: "The strong forces which are visibly and invisibly at work in our society, fashioning our destinies as a nation, are to a great extent ignored by the novelist."<sup>23</sup> Boyesen determined not to ignore these immigrants. It was his duty, he thought, to write of the Scandinavian who was contributing so much to America's development. In the light of present-day trends of literature and history his resolve becomes prophetic.

When Boyesen came to the actual writing of immigrant fiction, he discovered he had to do more than just describe the external qualities of his characters. It was not enough to picture the customs, manners, social habits, and daily reactions which these people possessed, and which made them noticeably different from Americans. Boyesen felt that he had to penetrate the Old World veneer, strip off the integument called "foreignness," and discuss these people as individuals—individuals conditioned not only by a Scandinavian past, but changed by an American present. Boyesen had undergone a fundamental change in his own life, a change more important than his change of language, clothes, and way of living. He wanted to capture that change in words, to put it into his characters. In an essay called "My Lost Self" he tried to say what it was that had happened to him. He had become, after living in America for a few years, a man caught between two racial experiences, caught between the fading shadow of his past life and the brilliant sun of his new experience.<sup>24</sup> He did not feel at ease in either Norway or America. There was something of a residue within him that materialistic America could not wear away, and there was, at the same time, a great new wonderment at the kind of freedom he had found in America. This fundamental problem of character he tried

<sup>22</sup> *Literary and Social Silhouettes* (New York, 1894), p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

to get into his fiction. It was not his purpose that kept him from writing a novel as important as Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth*; it was his lack of ability.

When he fell back upon an analysis of the problems of immigration, he was a good historian, for he followed the pattern he had worked out for the problem, and tried, always, to get beneath the pattern to the people themselves. The pattern followed the five questions already given. Each story tried to answer one of them or all of them. In answering why the immigrant left home, Boyesen used revolt as his chief cause. The immigrant could not endure the Scandinavian conventions. The heroine in "The Story of an Outcast" (1874), for example, sinned against the moral code, and came to America to escape social condemnation.<sup>25</sup> The hero of "A Child of the Age" (1889) differed politically with his father. He was a radical of the Björnson school; his father was a capitalist. The young man came for knowledge, a broader view of the worker and his problems so that he could bring about reforms in his home country.<sup>26</sup> The hero of "A Disastrous Partnership" (1889) came to this country because Norway family conventions had decreed that the youngest son should get no inheritance.<sup>27</sup> In these stories, and others like them, America is the haven for the persecuted, the neglected, and the misunderstood.

The other questions attendant on immigration Boyesen placed together under the larger theme of influence—what was America doing to these immigrants? What was happening in the Scandinavian settlement is the theme of the novel *Falconberg* (1878). Here Boyesen described the problem of the settlement. Is it good or bad for Scandinavians to live with their own kind? is the question of this novel.<sup>28</sup> "A Norse Atlantic" (1890) described a settlement on the march, transporting itself as a physical and spiritual unit.<sup>29</sup> In "The Story of an Outcast" (1874) and "Liberty's Victims" (1889) an individual Scandinavian is turned loose in a large American city.<sup>30</sup> However different the details of the story, Boyesen is concerned with one thing: the effect the environment has upon the characters, for it is in a discussion of the environment and the indi-

<sup>25</sup> *Scribner's Monthly*, IX, 36 ff. (Nov., 1874).

<sup>26</sup> *Vagabond Tales* (Boston, 1889).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Scribner's Monthly*, XVI, 496 ff. (Aug., 1878), and following issues.

<sup>29</sup> *Cosmopolitan*, X, 48 ff. (Nov., 1890).

<sup>30</sup> See n. 25, above, and *Vagabond Tales*.

vidual that he comes to the question of whether the immigrant has failed or succeeded.

Success or failure in America depends, for Boyesen, on the character's ability to adapt himself to the American philosophy, plus his capacity for work. To his sensitive, emotional characters, such as Halfdan Bjerk in "The Man Who Lost His Name" (1876), Boyesen shows that America has nothing but death.<sup>31</sup> Those who lose their perspective in America die. They are not physically strong; therefore they are not wanted. America would receive "a pair of brawny arms fit to wield the pickaxe and to steer the plow . . . for a child-like, loving heart and a generously fantastic brain, it had but the stern greeting of the law."<sup>32</sup> For the lazy, the incapable, like St. Dennis Dannevig in "A Knight of Dannebrog" (1881), America can give only financial failure.<sup>33</sup> In other words, Boyesen accepts the favored precept of Carlyle that all mankind must work and work hard or not survive. Those incapable of adjusting themselves to the social and economic demands of America, like Truls Bergerson in "A Disastrous Partnership" (1889), must go back home.<sup>34</sup>

Toward the close of his career Boyesen was changing this theme of success or failure into the theme of protest against economic conditions in America. In 1881 he published a collection of short stories called *Queen Titania*. One of the stories of this group, "A Dangerous Virtue," was written as a direct answer to Turgenev's accusation that Boyesen was too romantic to be a serious critic of the times.<sup>35</sup> Here, as in "A Child of the Age" (1889), and in those social novels which he was writing from 1883 until his death,<sup>36</sup> Boyesen made the Scandinavian give way to a discussion of labor and capital.

Success, on the other hand, came quickly to those immigrants who worked hard and who assimilated America quickly. Brita Blakstad in "The Story of an Outcast" (1874) succeeded because she could work. Ralph Grim in "Good for Nothing" (1876) became a successful journalist because adversity made him work.

<sup>31</sup> *Scribner's Monthly*, XII, 808 ff. (Oct., 1876).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 811.

<sup>33</sup> *Ilka on the Hill Tops and Other Stories*. <sup>34</sup> See n. 26.

<sup>35</sup> See article in *New York Daily Tribune* (July 29, 1889), p. 6, col. 1. This article is a review of Boyesen's lecture on realism made at Chautauqua, N. Y., July 27, 1889.

<sup>36</sup> *A Daughter of the Philistines* (Boston, 1883), *The Light of Her Countenance* (New York, 1889), *The Mammon of Unrighteousness* (New York, 1891), *The Golden Calf* (New York, 1892), and *The Social Strugglers* (New York, 1893).

Einar Falconberg in the novel, *Falconberg* (1878), succeeded because he became an American so quickly that he avoided the pitfalls that met the average immigrant. Einar becomes Boyesen's mouth-piece when he says:

Let us not foolishly and stubbornly cling to the substances of nationality and lose its reality, its deeper essence. Let us not transplant that which is accidental and evanescent in our old life upon the soil. Let us be alive to the larger needs of the day in which we live, asserting ourselves fearlessly as Norsemen, still remembering that if our lives are not to be spent in vain, we must first of all be American.<sup>37</sup>

This is the most important thing Boyesen has to say about immigration, that it is the function of the immigrant to become, as soon as he can, a part of the many-cultured experience which is America. To repay America for taking him in, this immigrant should contribute his ideas, customs, and fine differences of mind in order to make a better America. The Scandinavian should assimilate American culture, let his own inheritance be swallowed up. He should not live in settlements, send his children to parochial schools, keep only his own language and traditions, but he should become a valuable contributory force to the variety which is America. Since this process which Boyesen advocated has happened to the Scandinavian immigrant, since his program has already been put into action, it is to our advantage to review these documents of our historical progress that we may better understand our national mind.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Falconberg*, p. 136.

<sup>38</sup> "The Dangers of Unrestricted Immigration," *Forum*, III, 532 ff. (July, 1887).

## AN AMERICAN VERSION OF MUNCHAUSEN

ERWIN G. GUDDE  
*University of California*

THE FIRST ENGLISH version of Baron Munchausen's marvelous adventures was published in 1786, and almost immediately became a world success. Of the numerous adaptations and imitations none is more interesting than that of an American author, published for the first time in 1805. Although this book went through at least four different editions, it is today completely forgotten.

The American version of the celebrated work is obviously based upon one of the later Kearsley editions, of which the seventh, now usually considered the final one, was published at London, in 1793,<sup>1</sup> and upon the *Sequel to the Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (London, 1792). The five engravings after Rowlandson which adorn the first two printings of the American version, however, were taken from the Tegg edition.<sup>2</sup> While the writers of the English and German editions had introduced some satirical allusions in the later chapters, the American author uses the Munchausen stories consciously as a vehicle for political and social satire. Quite a few of his own additions remind us of the harmless tall stories of the original versions; but many others are vitriolic and libelous attacks upon Jefferson and Democracy, upon quackery and humbug, upon personal and political enemies of the author. We need pay no heed to the author's claim to being an Englishman. He was doubtless one of the satirical writers in the Federalist camp, and, as will be shown later, in all probability Thomas Green Fessenden.<sup>3</sup>

### THE FIRST EDITION

Of the first printing there are apparently only two copies extant, one in the Library of Congress and the other in the New York Public Library. The title page of this edition reads as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Gulliver Revived; or, The Vice of Lying properly exposed; containing singular Travels, Campaigns, Voyages, and Adventures. . . .* By Baron Munchausen. Seventh edition, considerably enlarged and ornamented. This and the later unchanged Kearsley editions, together with the *Sequel*, form the standard English version.

<sup>2</sup> *Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen. . . .* Illustrated by J. Rowlandson (London: Tegg, 1803).

<sup>3</sup> See the last part of this article.

GULLIVER REDIVIOUS [*sic*];  
OR,  
THE CELEBRATED & ENTERTAINING  
TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES  
BY SEA AND LAND,  
OF THE RENOWNED  
BARON MUNCHAUSEN  
INCLUDING  
A TOUR TO THE UNITED STATES  
OF  
AMERICA,  
IN THE YEAR 1803.

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PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR

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1805

The Preface asserts this edition to be the seventeenth, and it is quite possible that by 1804 sixteen other English editions had made their appearance. Of this particular American version, however, the edition in question is certainly the first. The editor states that the first six chapters were written by the Baron himself, Chapters vii to xx by less facile pens.<sup>4</sup> Now the editor is in a position to add other chapters written by Munchausen. The editor bought these additions for ten guineas from the Baron's landlady at whose house he died and who had him buried at her own expense. The translation is by the "ingenious Miss Plumtree," thus implying that the Baron still wrote in his mother tongue, although he had long become anglicized. The Preface is signed "The Editor," and dated Dublin, December 18, 1804.

The first six chapters follow closely the Kearsley edition. The text is considerably reduced, but none of the adventures is omitted. Beginning with Chapter vii, however, the editor takes greater liberties and repeatedly omits essential passages. Chapter xi of the Kearsley edition, dealing with the Baron's ancestors, is entirely omitted. Thus old Chapters xii to xix become Chapters xi to xviii in the American version. All these chapters are again con-

<sup>4</sup>The editor of the Kearsley edition makes the more correct statement that only chaps. ii-vi were written by the Baron himself (containing the stories of the original edition ascribed to Erich Raspe). Chap. i is a later addition.

siderably changed and condensed. Although the American writer showed rather bad taste in his own continuations, he took care to omit passages which might be offensive from the moral point of view. Thus the filthy story of Baron Tott's parentage in the fourteenth chapter of the Kearsley edition is entirely disregarded. For the same reason Chapter xx, containing Munchausen's love affair with Venus, is omitted, although this affair forms only a short episode in the long chapter. The "Extraordinary Flight on the Back of an Eagle," designated as "Supplement" in the Kearsley edition, becomes Chapter xix in the American edition, again considerably abridged.

Chapters xxi-xxiv<sup>5</sup> are condensed, with many changes and some additions, from Chapters i-viii of the *Sequel*. It must be admitted that the text has been considerably improved upon by the American writer. Many of the absurdities of the *Sequel* were omitted or modified, and in language as well as in spirit the new version is brought into closer harmony with the original Munchausen stories. Chapters ix, x, xi, xiii, and xiv of the *Sequel* are disregarded altogether, and the twelfth chapter is used in the American edition for the first part of Chapter xxv, to the point where Munchausen hits the governor of Russian America (a Polish governor in the American edition) with a bear. The remainder of the chapter seems to be the first original contribution of the American. Here Munchausen becomes Admiral Nelson's right-hand man during the Battle of the Nile. He wins the engagement by blowing up the French flagship, *L'Orient*, by a submarine explosion,<sup>6</sup> and claims that he is "the only man that has ever conquered Bonaparte."

Chapter xxvi apparently tries to make fun of certain English statesmen who undertook boisterous but ineffective operations to save the French monarchy. Munchausen reveals that he could have restored the heads to the executed aristocrats but desisted when he found out that some of them had been very bad men. He then intimates to Mr. P., an Englishman, that he has a plan to put an end to the French Republic, but the plan is not revealed. The chapter ends with a Munchausenism: when the Baron returns to his

<sup>5</sup> It should be chaps. xx-xxiii, but the number xx is omitted by mistake.

<sup>6</sup> Doubtless a satirical reference to the method of submarine explosion invented by David Bushnell. During the War of Independence, several fruitless attempts were made to blow up British ships by this method. The fact that Jefferson was interested in this scheme was sufficient reason for the writer to make fun of the father of the submarine mine and the torpedo.

hotel he scares the barmaid because he had forgotten to take his head from his pocket and put it in its proper place.

Chapter xxviii<sup>7</sup> is a satire on quackery and patent medicines, written in the Baron's style but with the intention of exposing these frauds. Munchausen regrets that he has been guilty of inventing many nostrums which have been used by unscrupulous people to cure many persons to death or at least to draw the superfluous guineas from the pockets of the dupes. He mentions Nervous Cordial, Botanical Syrup, Anti-Impetigines, Digitalis, Godbold's Vegetable Balsam, Dr. Barton's Vital Wine, Balm of Gilead—all well-known medicines of the time. He gives the names of several London quack doctors, of whom Bossy, Brodum, Solomon, Godbold, and Barton were well known at that time,<sup>8</sup> and then takes a slam at the most famous and most successful of the medical frauds around 1800, Dr. Elisha Perkins' Metallic Tractors, magnetized pieces of metal that were supposed to cure sufferers of rheumatism.<sup>9</sup> This was, like all the other quack cures, the Baron's own invention; he had mentioned it in a conversation with Dr. Franklin and Dr. Perkins while on a visit to the United States. At the same time, Munchausen claims that he could cure all diseases and even bestow immortality, but that would be foolish, for it would result in overpopulation and cannibalism. For this reason statesmen go to war "like true philanthropists." Like a crusading reformer, the author ends the chapter by suggesting a law that "such quacks as failed to cure any disease for which they propose a specific should be hanged."<sup>10</sup>

Chapter xxix reveals an even stronger reformatory spirit. The author lets the goddess Venus propose a "plan to promote happiness in the world." First, all instruments of war should be destroyed,

<sup>7</sup> Again the numbering skips a chapter, xxvii.

<sup>8</sup> Charles J. S. Thompson, *The Quacks of Old London* (London, 1928), and Charles H. LaWall, *Four Thousand Years of Pharmacy* (Philadelphia, 1927), mention the names of these as well as a number of the same patent medicines. "Dr. Brodum, another quack of this period, amassed a fortune selling a 'Nervous Cordial'" (LaWall, *op. cit.*, p. 478).

<sup>9</sup> This fraud is discussed in Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 338 ff., and by W. R. Steiner, "Dr. Elisha Perkins of Plainfield, Conn., and His Metallic Tractors," *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History of Chicago*, III, 79 ff. (Jan., 1923).

<sup>10</sup> The writer refers in this chapter to conditions in London. He continued his fight after he came to America and found strong allies among other Federalists. In 1805 the New York *Evening Post*, the most influential Federalist paper, launched a violent attack upon the "quack medicines and quack advertisements which . . . disgrace our city" and declared its willingness to give up the revenue from such advertisements (Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post*, New York, 1922, pp. 72 f.).



or turned into agricultural implements and tools for the promotion of arts and sciences. Second, statesmen should receive double salaries upon establishment of peace, but those who propose anything hostile to universal peace, should be considered unfit to govern a community. Third, the temple of justice should be open to rich and poor alike, and lawyers should render their services gratis. Fourth, physicians should be employed by the community and paid by the government, "quack doctors, fabricators of cosmetics, and distillers of ardent spirits were to be banished." Fifth, gambling and stock-jobbing should be suppressed; sixth, marriage should be promoted and celibacy punished. In the end, however, the author expresses his doubts whether such reforms would be practical in the society at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The following six chapters, xxx-xxxv, contain bitter satirical attacks upon Jefferson and his political associates, and upon conditions in the United States as they were brought about—in the belief of every true Federalist—by the wicked domination of Democracy.

In the next chapter the Baron states that he became tired of his quiet life in London. He tried to divert himself by playing billiards, but he found it too uninteresting to hit a red ball with a white one unless he played for money. Of gambling, however, he had been cured twenty years before. He tells, obviously with the intent of warning others, of the crooked ways in which he had been cheated. Finally he decides to travel. A friend advises him to visit the United States once more. "He particularly assured me that I should there see the most surprising *Lusus Naturae* the world ever witnessed; no less than the greatest philosopher in the world, who made whirligig chairs and gimcrack band-boxes, united in the same person with the greatest statesmen on the globe, who knew the art of governing the people by being governed by them, and of increasing the funds in the public treasury by the diminution of its receipts, with several other useful and entertaining discoveries."<sup>11</sup> So Munchausen "furbished up" his wings and flew across the Atlantic.

Chapter xxxi starts in the manner of the Munchausen tales. The Baron stays at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern at Boston, tells of his

<sup>11</sup> This is a typical Federalist attack on Jefferson, his democratic principles, Gallatin's financial policy, and the President's dabbling with mechanical inventions. The revolving chair was actually invented by Jefferson, and his opponents called it "Mr. Jefferson's whirligig" (M. A. Whiting, "The Father of Gadgets," *Stone and Webster Journal*, XLIX, 307, May, 1932).

wonderful dog, Tray, and how he and a companion shot off the legs of fifty meadow snipes. The chief content of the chapter is, however, a long malodorous attack upon a Boston newspaper and its principal contributors, "Hony" and "Tony Pasquin."<sup>12</sup>

The next chapter describes the journey from Boston to New Haven. On the stage the Baron loses half his weight from sweating because the coach carried seventeen passengers when there was space for only nine. At the inn in Worcester he was introduced to a Mr. Woothe.<sup>13</sup> He recognized the latter as his old fellow in captivity when both were swallowed by a shark off Coromandel. Now he was the village apothecary, a lawyer, and distiller of gin. When Munchausen told him that he wanted to call on the President, Mr. Woothe informed him of the political situation in the United States, of the two-party system, and of a third party which was about to spring up. The Baron, however, was not interested in politics, and fell asleep during Mr. Woothe's lecture.

In Hartford, Connecticut, he observed to his amazement a public fist fight between a celebrated lawyer named Chartres, and Mr. Abraham Queersoul, who after a checkered career had settled down as a politician and pamphleteer.

The next day Munchausen arrived at New Haven, where he regretted to notice that "in this happy village no distinctions are known between any classes of its citizens." He received the greatest shock in the evening when he accepted an invitation to a ball in honor of the President, and saw Negroes and white people dance together. The chapter ends with a denunciation of that class of people "who under pretense of destroying artificial distinctions among men, in reality discard that salutary subordination which is the cement of society."

Chapter xxxiii is couched more or less in the spirit of the original Munchausen tales. The boat on which the author had taken passage to New York was wrecked. He was saved when the mast to which he clung sank perpendicularly into a cleft of the rock and stuck there. In the City Hotel of New York, Munchausen observed

<sup>12</sup> The writer refers to the Boston *Independent Chronicle* and its two principal men, Benjamin Austin, who wrote under the pen name "Honestus" or "Old South," and John Williams, the author of the *Hamiltoniad*.

<sup>13</sup> While all the important men in the book can be easily identified, it would be difficult (and of little consequence) to establish the identity of the many local characters who aroused "Munchausen's" ire.

a young man called Gripus, who possessed not a "single idea but what is connected with getting and saving money." In his eagerness to devour as much food as possible he swallowed a fork which passed right through him and pinned him to his seat. The credulity of the people of New York the writer satirizes by telling how an enterprising proprietor of a public garden attracted a vast crowd by advertising that he would arrest a certain comet in the heavens and exhibit it in his garden. Instead of that he produced a conjurer who threw a ball of yarn into the air which unraveled and then stood perpendicularly as stiff as a lightning rod in space. The conjurer climbed to the top and performed the "Antipodean whirligig" until every soul in the garden became dizzy.

The first part of Chapter xxxiv is devoted to a detailed discussion of the yellow fever which in those years broke out periodically in New York. In style resembling Sterne more than Munchausen, the author discusses the various theories as to the origin of the plague, mentioning Noah Webster's part in the controversy<sup>14</sup> and one Dr. Gaetans Angelis's theory. In connection with the diverse cures, the writer quotes an advertisement so "that the people of Europe may see to what lengths quack medicines are carried in this country." The item advertises the "Chymical Patent Essence of Boot, or Nature's Grand Restorative." Such a medicine may have actually existed, and the author may have seen it advertised, but he grossly exaggerates its alleged curative powers. The three appended testimonials by John N. . . , Poacher, Lewis Flinn, and Anthony Pasquin, are completely absurd and rather filthy.

In the last chapter the author describes his trip from New York to Philadelphia in a stage which was again overcrowded, and filled by the smoke of two uncouth fellow travelers smoking "American segars." In Philadelphia he is bothered by immense mosquitoes whose proboscides were sharp enough to pierce a boot and so long that they often stuck out on the opposite side of the leg. He soon discovered in this city "that rogues and swindlers, particularly foreigners, were persons of the highest consideration in society." He mentions that "the favorite printer and principal author in the city was one Dun, otherwise called Douan, but here Duane, the same

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C.E. A. Winslow, "The Epidemiology of Noah Webster," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXXII, 21-109 (Jan., 1934). In 1799, Webster had published a *Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*.

fellow whom I once saw elevated on a pole in the streets of Calcutta for infamous practices."<sup>15</sup> The Congressional representative was guilty of having defrauded the orphan children of a deceased friend,<sup>16</sup> and the governor he calls a man of savage temper who is completely under the management of his wife.<sup>17</sup> On the street he met the notorious Tench Coxe, "who had piloted the British army into Philadelphia against his own countrymen."<sup>18</sup>

He finally arrived at Washington to pay a visit to Jefferson whom he ironically calls "the great Condorcet,"<sup>19</sup> the greatest statesman and philosopher in the world." While waiting to be announced he went into the President's private apartment. At the foot of his bed "the most exquisite painting of a naked female as large as life presented itself, taken as in the act of bathing." When ushered into the reception room he noticed a man whom he took for a servant but who turned out to be "the great Condorcet" himself, dressed in a most shabby habit, dirty linen, and worn-out slippers.<sup>20</sup> Jefferson threw himself upon a sofa and began to talk about his inventions. He described in great detail his pedometer to measure distances in walking, perhaps one of Jefferson's actual inventions.<sup>21</sup> Then the President told him of other gadgets he had invented, the Magic Post, the Unaccountable Dining-Table, the Penometer—all, of course, absurd imputations on the part of the author. The chapter ends with Jefferson telling of an attempt on the part of Dr. Fredon<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> William Duane, editor of the powerful Democratic *Aurora*, had actually been arrested in Calcutta for exposing abuses of the East India Company.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Michael Leib, Representative from Philadelphia to the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Congress, was a violent, rather erratic Jeffersonian.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas McKean, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a strong supporter of Jefferson, was governor of Pennsylvania from 1799 to 1807.

<sup>18</sup> Tench Coxe with many other residents declared himself neutral when the British army entered Philadelphia in September, 1777. After its departure in June, 1778, he was tried but acquitted (H. Hutcheson, *Tench Coxe*, Baltimore, 1938).

<sup>19</sup> Marie Jean de Condorcet, mathematician and philosopher, played an important role during the early stages of the French Revolution, whose victim he became in 1794. Jefferson knew him and admired him (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Library Edition, Washington, 1903, VII, 96; XV, 223).

<sup>20</sup> Next to the attacks upon Jefferson's morals, the constant harping upon his alleged slovenliness was the most disgusting feature of the Federal opposition.

<sup>21</sup> Whiting in his above-mentioned article gives the odometer (gadget to measure distances in driving) but not the pedometer as one of Jefferson's inventions. But the latter's detailed description of the device in a letter to Madison (*Writings*, VI, 460) permits the assumption that the copy which he sent to his friend was constructed according to his specification.

<sup>22</sup> The name is probably used for one of the men who proposed the designation "Fredonia" for the United States.

of New York and himself to invent a somnometer with disastrous results.

After this audience Munchausen furbished up his wings and flew back to London.

THE EDITION OF 1813

The only copies of the second edition known to me are in the Huntington Library at San Marino and in the Harvard College Library. This edition bears the following title page:

GULLIVER REDIVIVUS;  
OR THE  
CURIOUS AND ENTERTAINING ADVENTURES  
BY SEA AND LAND,  
OF THE RENOWNED  
BARON MUNCHAUSEN,  
INCLUDING  
A TOUR  
TO THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
IN THE YEAR 1803,  
AND THE  
TWO FIRST CHAPTERS.  
OF A  
SECOND TOUR IN 1810

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EIGHTEENTH EDITION WITH PLATES

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NEW YORK;  
PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR.  
1813

To make room for his additions at the end of the book, the author condensed the first four chapters of the first edition into one. He did it so carelessly that the Polish forest, where the encounter with the bear takes place, is situated in Ceylon. The new Chapter II retains the old number v. From there on the chapters are numbered consecutively, the numbers xx and xxvii, omitted in the first edition, are restored. Otherwise the text, including the Preface, is the same as that of the previous edition.

The additions consist of a note by the editor and two new chap-

ters. These additions contain a few true Munchausenisms, but the chief purpose is again political satire. This time the ire of the writer is aroused by the War of 1812, considered by every good Federalist the worst of the many blunders committed by the successive Democratic administrations.

In the note of the "Editor to the Reader" the author states that Munchausen had visited him in person just as the new edition was to be sent to the binder. Being convinced that the Baron had died in 1804, the editor at first did not recognize him. Munchausen told the editor that he had taken another trip to the United States, but the latter could not fulfill the Baron's wish to stop the presses in order to add a narrative of this new journey. However, he advised the Baron to contribute a few chapters gratis, and thus let the public know what it might expect in the future editions. Munchausen agreed to supply three chapters, but only two were printed, Chapters xxxiv and xxxv.

The first of these is written in the true fashion of the original Munchausen tales. The Baron tells that he died in 1809, not in 1804, and was buried at Westminster Abbey, between Johnson and Garrick. He was not really dead but only in a trance. After two years<sup>23</sup> he rose, took his coffin, and sculled it across the Atlantic. When he was only two days distant from New York, he was overtaken by the British frigate *Belvidere* which "had outsailed the *President*, which outsailed everything that floated." Taking the coffin for an American gunboat, the British man-of-war brought Munchausen to Halifax, where he had to spend one year and several months.<sup>24</sup>

Chapter xxxv likewise starts with a Munchausenism. On a sleigh ride from Quebec in the winter of 1810, it was so cold that the horse froze stiff and it was necessary to wait for the rising sun to thaw it out.

<sup>23</sup> The chronology is somewhat confused. If the Baron remained buried for two years he could not very well take a sleigh ride from Quebec in 1810.

<sup>24</sup> A humorous reference to the first naval action of the War of 1812. On June 23, the frigate *President*, Commodore John Rodgers, engaged the *Belvidere* southwest of Nantucket Shoals. After a spirited fight the British ship "outsailed" the *President*, and escaped to Halifax (Charles O. Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers*, Cleveland, 1910, pp. 250 ff.). The violent opposition of the Federalists to the gunboat policy of the Democratic administrations explains the British mistake of taking a coffin for a gunboat. The misfortune which befell one of these vessels on the Mississippi, when it was swept on a cornfield by a cyclone, provided the opposition papers with a source of endless mirth (C. G. Bowers, *Jefferson in Power*, Boston, 1936, pp. 265 f.).

In the autumn of 1812 the Baron visited an encampment of United States soldiers near Niagara Falls and found that the poor wretches had to live on sole leather and flag-root.<sup>25</sup> A few weeks later he was caught in the deeply ploughed field of another encampment at Greenbush near Albany. The governor of the state believed that "nothing was so good to season raw recruits, as an encampment in wet, ploughed grounds, and leaky tents in case of rain." Since flogging had been forbidden by Congress, the officers found other means of torturing the enlisted men.<sup>26</sup>

At an inn thirty miles from New York City Munchausen saw the sixty-five-year-old General Grannydere dance to the tune of Yankee-Doodle with Miss Vanderlee, a young lass of seventeen. "Under the double weight of his age and his military coat, covered as it was from top to bottom with gold lace in every direction" the General lost his balance and fell, dragging his partner and two other ladies, Mrs. Gubblestone and Mrs. Frobisher, down with him.<sup>27</sup>

In New York the traveler had a chance to observe a great display of patriotism. The city was preparing for the reception of the crew of the frigate which had captured the British man-of-war *Macedonian*.<sup>28</sup> A Mrs. Bradshaw was taken in labor on Tuesday morning. Since she wished her son to be born on the day of the dinner to be given in honor of the brave tars, her physician, Dr. Egometipse, with the help of "laudanum and rhetoric" postponed the birth till Thursday. When the captain, after whom the boy was to be named,

<sup>25</sup> The attacks upon the shameless treatment of the enlisted men in the early part of our second war with England were partly justified. William Coleman, editor of the *Evening Post*, made the most of the reports coming from the Northern frontier in the fall of 1812. He laid the blame for the sufferings of the army at the door of "a wretched, incapable, mob-courting administration, less concerned to provide supplies for their [*sic*] army than to secure by low intrigue the places they so unworthily fill" (Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 53).

<sup>26</sup> "Infliction of corporal punishment by stripes and lashes" was prohibited by act of Congress, on May 16, 1812 (*The Military Laws of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1863, p. 228). Daniel D. Tompkins, a strong supporter of the war, was governor of New York from 1807 to 1816.

<sup>27</sup> The description seems to fit General James Wilkinson, who was vain and fond of uniform. The name "Grannydere" may be a play on the word "Grenadier." Near Grenadier Island on Lake Ontario, a terrible gale scattered the fleet which was to transport Wilkinson's army to the Canadian shore (J. R. Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior*, New York, 1938, pp. 290 f., and B. J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, New York, 1868, p. 646). To be sure, this event did not take place until October, 1813, and Wilkinson was then only fifty-six years old.

<sup>28</sup> It was the frigate *United States*, commanded by Stephen Decatur, that conquered the *Macedonian* off Canary Island on October 25, 1812 (E. S. Maclay, *A History of the United States Navy*, New York, 1906, I, 372 ff.).

arrived at Mr. Bradshaw's house, the latter attempted a speech. Overcome by the greatness of the occasion the word stuck in his throat and his friend, Mr. Newman, had to force it out by placing his large foot with all his strength upon the young father's belly. "Such is American enthusiasm. Nature herself is arrested in her course to give it utterance."<sup>29</sup>

In addition to these new chapters we find in Chapter xxx (xxxii of the first edition) an interpolation which presents a strange anachronism. In talking to Mr. Woothe at Worcester, Munchausen expresses his desire to call on the President (as in the edition of 1805), but he gives as an additional reason "the liberal patronage he [the President] had extended to my old friend Henry and the Count de Crillon." While these names did not mean anything during Jefferson's terms, they were of the greatest political significance at the outbreak of the War of 1812. In his urgent desire to mention the two names of evil repute the writer did not hesitate to insert them at the wrong place.<sup>30</sup>

THE THIRD AND FOURTH EDITIONS

The third edition was published in 1832 with the following title:

GULLIVER REDIVIVUS  
OR THE  
CELEBRATED AND ENTERTAINING  
TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES,  
OF THE RENOWNED  
BARON MUNCHAUSEN  
BY LAND AND SEA;  
INCLUDING  
A TOUR TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
IN THE YEAR 1803.  
PHILADELPHIA  
KEY & MILKE,  
1832.

<sup>29</sup> The brilliant action really raised popular enthusiasm to a dangerous height. The banquet, given in honor of the crew by the Corporation of New York City, took place on January 2, 1813, at Gibson's City Hotel (*ibid.*, p. 392).

<sup>30</sup> A British agent in the United States, John Henry, sold his correspondence with James Craig, the governor general of Canada, to President Madison after the British government had refused to remunerate him for his services. The letters proved the British design to disrupt the Union, and were instrumental in preparing the American people for the second war with Great Britain. Henry was apparently cheated out of his ill-gotten money by his friend, Count de Crillon, a French impostor (Lossing, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 ff.).



The two known copies are in the Library of Congress and in the Harvard College Library. The Preface and the illustrations are omitted. The text follows the edition of 1805 to the end of Chapter xxxii (xxxiv in the first edition) dealing with the yellow fever and quackery. The last chapter, telling of Munchausen's stay in Philadelphia and Washington, is omitted, and although the audience with Jefferson did not take place at all, a paragraph added at the end states that the Baron had seen "the great philosopher" and had flown back to England.

The fourth and last edition bears the title:

THE  
CURIOUS AND ENTERTAINING ADVENTURES  
AND  
TRAVELS BY SEA AND LAND  
OF THE RENOWNED  
BARON MUNCHAUSEN.  
INCLUDING  
A TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED STATES  
IN THE YEAR MDCCCIII.  
"Truth is strange, more strange than Fiction."  
NEW YORK;  
FARMER & DAGGERS, XXX ANN STREET.  
1845.

As in the case of the other editions only two copies seem to be extant, one in the Library of Congress, the other in the New York Public Library. Except for a few minor changes it follows the edition of 1813. However, the Preface and the pictures are again omitted, and the first four chapters are restored to the original text of the first edition. It is the best and the final version of the strange and interesting satire.

THE QUEST FOR THE AUTHOR

The American *Munchausen* shares with all other versions of the tall stories connected with this name the mark of anonymity. We do not know whether the historical Baron Hieronymus von Münchhausen actually told any of these stories. We are ignorant of the identity of the wag who published the original eighteen anecdotes in the *Vade Mecum für lustige Leute* (1781 and 1783). Erich Raspe

is usually credited with having published the first English version, but we have no absolute proof for this, nor do we know who wrote the additions, supplements, and sequences which now constitute the final English version. The author and editor of the German version was probably Gottfried August Bürger, but here too we have only indirect evidence. Thus it is not surprising that the American version has remained a fatherless waif.

It is self-evident that we have to look for the author among the host of satirists in the camp of the Federalists. It is likewise obvious that the writer was as well acquainted with American as with English conditions, although we must discredit his claim of being an Englishman. Besides his general dislike for Democrats, Jacobins, and foreigners who did not have Federalist leanings, he had singled out some particular individuals for special punishment. He was a man who was interested in inventions, but one who abhorred quackery and patent medicines. He was a serious reformer and at the same time a most bitter and merciless satirist.

Among the great number of anti-Democratic writers of the period there is one to whom all this would be pertinent—Thomas Green Fessenden. To be sure, it seems strange that Fessenden should have been so secretive about the *Munchausen* although he never tried to hide his authorship of other political satires which were just as coarse and vitriolic. It is also surprising that neither Nathaniel Hawthorne,<sup>31</sup> who had known Fessenden personally, nor Porter Gale Perrin in his excellent biography<sup>32</sup> connected Fessenden in any way with the *Munchausen* version. Yet external and internal evidence seems to point to Fessenden as the author of the satire.

Fessenden was born on the twenty-second of April, 1771, at Walpole, New Hampshire. He studied and practiced law, but his chief hobbies were apparently writing rustic and political verse and dabbling with mechanical inventions. In 1801 he went to London as agent of a company that tried to market a new hydraulic machine. This and similar schemes proved to be failures, and after a few years Fessenden found himself stranded and penniless in the British capital. In despair he turned to writing<sup>33</sup> and produced his first

<sup>31</sup> "Thomas Green Fessenden" in Vol. XII of *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston and New York, 1909).

<sup>32</sup> P. G. Perrin, *The Life and Works of Thomas Green Fessenden* (Orono, Me., 1925).

<sup>33</sup> Necessity, though I am no wit,  
Compels me now to turn poet;

great satire *Terrible Tractoration* by Dr. Christopher Caustic.<sup>34</sup> It was allegedly written in the interest of Dr. Perkins's Metallic Tractors, which were supposed to cure rheumatism and other ailments. In reality it is a general satire on quackery, money-greedy physicians, superficial and sensational science. Although Fessenden states his belief in Perkins's invention in the Preface and certainly ridicules the enemies of "Perkinism," the intelligent reader might see in the book, especially in its later editions, an indictment of the Metallic Tractors.<sup>35</sup>

In the summer of 1804 Fessenden returned to the United States. The rest of his life he spent as lawyer, editor, and writer. For many years he took part in the struggle between the two parties, editing the *Weekly Inspector*, and publishing two other political-satirical epics, *Democracy Unveiled* (1805) and *Pills, Poetical, Political, Philosophical* (1809). During his later years, until his death in 1837, he was editor of several farmer's periodicals and was one of the most successful and respected writers on agricultural subjects.

If Fessenden was the author of the American *Munchausen*, he must have written it shortly after his return from England. To be sure, the "editor" wants to make us believe that Munchausen traveled through the States in 1803. But in Chapter xxxv (first edition) he gives himself away: he quotes a poem in praise of Jefferson in the *American Citizen*, and states in a footnote that the Baron is guilty of an anachronism, for the poem was not published till the summer of 1804. This proves that the American version was not composed, or at least not completed, till the fall of 1804. Fessenden might thus very well be the author.<sup>36</sup> In fact, it seems likely that the first twenty-nine chapters were edited and written in London and that the author brought the manuscript with him to America.

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Not *born*, but *made*, by transmutation  
 And chymick process, call'd—*starvation*!  
 (*Terrible Tractoration*, p. 2.)

<sup>34</sup> The first edition was published at London in February, 1803. The quotations in this article refer to the second American edition which was published at Philadelphia in 1806, and bears the title: *Modern Philosopher: or Terrible Tractoration*.

<sup>35</sup> The *Critical Review* (Nov., 1803, and Jan., 1804) could not ascertain whether the poem was for or against the tractors (quoted in *Terrible Tractoration*, p. 69).

<sup>36</sup> The circumstance that the worst attack of the yellow fever actually occurred in 1803, while Fessenden was still in London, and that Webster and Coleman carried on their long-winded debate as to its origin in that year (Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 68), does not refute this assumption. Fessenden, although not in New York during the attack of 1803, speaks upon other occasions of the yellow fever in the same manner.

In style and spirit the *Munchausen* resembles the other satirical works of the New England author, especially his *Terrible Tractation* and *Democracy Unveiled*. Everywhere we find a serious endeavor to improve conditions and abolish abuses combined with unrelenting and unjustified attacks upon people of a different political color. Already Hawthorne had remarked, "Everybody who has known Mr. Fessenden must have wondered how the kindest hearted man in all the world could have likewise been the most noted satirist in his day."<sup>37</sup> The same man who proposed that fine "Plan to promote happiness in the world" in Chapter xxvii (first edition) can elsewhere not find words strong enough to defile the character of his political opponents.

The strongest evidence that speaks of Fessenden's authorship is found in the circumstance that the same persons are held up to ridicule, the same abuses attacked as in his satirical poems and their copious footnotes. Parallels of a general nature prove very little, of course. Attacks upon the Democrats' disregard for class distinctions and their pro-French attitude, upon Gallatin's financial policy, upon the influence of foreigners in American politics, upon Jefferson's alleged immorality, his slovenly appearance, his inventive bent—all these belonged to the stock-in-trade of the Federalist opposition. But there are verbal parallels and specific references that seem to point to Fessenden alone and we begin to wonder whether Munchausen was not identical with Dr. Christopher Caustic, the pseudonym used by Fessenden in *Terrible Tractation* as well as in *Democracy Unveiled*.

Munchausen speaks of Jefferson as a "lusus naturae," which is also a favorite term of Dr. Caustic.<sup>38</sup> The Baron applied to Jefferson the sobriquet "Condorcet," the name of a French illuminatus and Girondist. Dr. Caustic is very familiar with this name, calling him one of the demons of the French Revolution and accusing him of being a particular friend of "our American philosopher."<sup>39</sup>

His vilest attack Munchausen directed against Benjamin Austin ("Hony" or "Honestus") and John Williams ("Tony Pasquin") of the Boston *Independent Chronicle*. Dr. Caustic is just as violent in his denunciation of the two *Chronicle* men:

<sup>37</sup> Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>38</sup> *Terrible Tractation*, pp. 55, 256.

<sup>39</sup> *Democracy Unveiled*, pp. 40, 64 f., 181. Quotations from this work are taken from the second edition (Boston, 1805).

With such a dirty wretch as Tony,  
 Who but Honestus would be crony?  
 And what vile renegade but Tony  
 Would be the intimate of Honé?<sup>40</sup>

In fact, "Tony" and "Hony" are so often ridiculed by Dr. Caustic that they appear to be Fessenden's pet aversions.<sup>41</sup>

Another favorite butt of Fessenden's derision was William Duane, publisher of the influential Democratic *Aurora* in Philadelphia. Dr. Caustic as well as Munchausen makes the most of Duane's punishment in Calcutta for having written against the government.<sup>42</sup> Speaking of Tench Coxe, likewise a prominent Philadelphian, Dr. Caustic and the Baron use the very same words in their condemnation of Coxe for having "piloted" the British army into Philadelphia.<sup>43</sup> Again, the same words are used by both in accusing a third Philadelphian, the Congressional representative, Dr. Michael Leib, for having attempted to "defraud the orphan children of a deceased friend."<sup>44</sup>

The yellow fever was one of Fessenden's pet subjects for discussion and the controversy respecting its origin a continuous source of ridicule. Munchausen devotes an entire chapter to the plague, discussing, just like Dr. Caustic, the various theories, especially Noah Webster's hypothesis.<sup>45</sup> Again, the similarities in the treatment of quackery are so much alike that they can hardly be of an accidental nature. Both Dr. Caustic and Munchausen mention the very same quack doctors and give the names of some of the patent medicines.<sup>46</sup> When the Baron says that the metallic tractors will "attract many superfluous guineas that lie loose in the pockets of dupes," we find Dr. Caustic expressing the same thought,

Contrives to wheedle simple ninnies,  
 And tractorize away our guineas.<sup>47</sup>  
 Might tamely suffer B. D. Perkins  
 To pick the pockets of their jerkins.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 11, 130-143.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 11, 149 ff. *Pills . . .*, p. 112, *et al.*; *Weekly Inspector*, I, 75 ff., *et al.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Terrible Tractoration*, pp. 77 ff.; *Pills . . .*, p. 42; *Weekly Inspector*, I, 267. Governor McKean of Pennsylvania had likewise aroused Fessenden's ire before (Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 42).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104 ff., 145 f., 260 f.; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>46</sup> *Terrible Tractoration*, pp. 213 ff; *Weekly Inspector*, II, 232.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Like Munchausen, Dr. Caustic suggests the penalty of hanging for quacks,

So we, with justice on our side,  
May hang these rogues before they're try'd.<sup>49</sup>

Other parallels we find in the attacks upon foreigners who obtained high ranks under the Democratic administration,<sup>50</sup> in the mockery of the name "Fredonia," suggested by some Democratic writers for the United States,<sup>51</sup> in the discussion of the possibility of a third party,<sup>52</sup> on the ironical principle that war is beneficial for humanity because it prevents overpopulation and cannibalism,<sup>53</sup> and in Dr. Caustic's and Munchausen's pretended friendship with Benjamin Franklin and Admiral Nelson<sup>54</sup>—certainly a very surprising analogy.

Quite a few of the original Munchausenisms created by the American editor of the marvelous adventures have counterparts in Fessenden's satires. In the Battle of the Nile the Baron blows up the French flagship by means of a submarine explosion. Dr. Caustic discusses in detail Bushnell's invention of submarine explosions, and in one place refers directly to the explosion during the Battle of the Nile.<sup>55</sup> Munchausen's coffin is taken for an American gunboat by the British. Dr. Caustic takes great delight in ridiculing "Mr. Jefferson's gun-boat policy."<sup>56</sup> Indeed, Dr. Caustic is just as fond of exaggerations as Munchausen. He originated some not paralleled in the American *Munchausen*, but there are others which both men invented at nearly the same time—certainly a strange coincidence, if it is such. When Munchausen boasts of being the inventor of

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>50</sup> *Democracy Unveiled*, pp. 59, 78; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 41; *Weekly Inspector*, II, 111.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 80; *Pills* . . . , pp. 122, *et al.*

<sup>52</sup> *Democracy Unveiled*, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Terrible Tractoration*, pp. 180, 185 ff. Both men mention Godwin's *Political Justice* in this connection.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 254. In this connection it is interesting to observe that Benjamin Franklin, though he never met Fessenden, was acquainted with the creator of the first *Munchausen* book, R. E. Raspe (*Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Philadelphia, 1908, I, 107, *et al.*, II, 50, *et al.*). If we could believe Carl Van Doren (*Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1938, p. 357), our great statesman and scientist even knew the old Baron Münchhausen were not written by the retired cavalry captain of Bodenwerder, but by his learned namesake, Gerlach Adolph von Münchhausen, who was George III's prime minister of Hanover.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 245.

<sup>56</sup> *Democracy Unveiled*, pp. 117 ff.; *Pills* . . . , p. 28; *Weekly Inspector*, I, 16, *et al.*; II, 8 ff., *et al.*

Metallic Tractors and many patent medicines, we need only to glance through *Terrible Tractoration* to find that Dr. Caustic claims the same honor at various places. Munchausen asserts that he could have restored executed French aristocrats to life and that he could even bestow immortality. The same could have been done by Dr. Caustic:

And I once offer'd, very prettily,  
To patch up Frenchmen killed in Italy.<sup>57</sup>

Make Hydra heads spring up, I ween  
For people shav'd by guillotine.<sup>58</sup>

With powers of these Metallick Tractors  
He can revive dead malefactors.<sup>59</sup>

Any direct evidence which might prove Fessenden's authorship is still lacking. On the other hand, there is nothing that speaks against it, except possibly the circumstance that the New England satirist did not mention the name "Munchausen" elsewhere. A controversy in the *Weekly Inspector* may help to explain this silence. In the issue of February 28, 1807, a contributor attacked plagiarism in these words: "A custom is now becoming very common in America, of making trifling alterations of European works, republishing them with great pretensions of important improvements and additions." To this attack Fessenden made a rather evasive reply, and in the issue of March 14, he confessed: "We are sorry to find that the literary controversy respecting copyright publications, partakes a little more of the piquant, than what is pleasing to our palates." It is quite conceivable that the writer of the American *Munchausen*, having lifted a large part of his edition from an English book, may have felt uneasy about such a controversy and may have preferred not to reveal his authorship. For similar reasons, Raspe, Bürger, and other editors of the tall stories had likewise been careful to keep their names from being connected with their editions.

The final solution of the problem depends upon the discovery of definite evidence which will prove or disprove the theory that Fessenden created this interesting version. In the meantime it seems that the tone and style of the satire, the time and circumstances of its publication, and the many parallels and analogies permit the assumption that Dr. Caustic was the writer and editor of the American *Munchausen*.

<sup>57</sup> *Terrible Tractoration*, p. 42.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### MELVILLE'S FIRST LECTURES

FRANCIS V. LLOYD, JR.

*St. Paul's School  
Concord, New Hampshire*

SEVERAL interesting articles and some references have already been made to Melville's lectures,<sup>1</sup> but the full account would seem to be incomplete without the reports of the "novitiate's" first attempts. There also appears to be some value in comparing the reactions to these first lectures with those to Melville's later efforts.

Melville's oft-quoted letter to his friend George Duyckinck indicates his desire to lecture anywhere "if they will pay expenses, and give a reasonable fee";<sup>2</sup> however his distaste at having to solicit business for himself can only be imagined.<sup>3</sup> Since James Redpath had not yet founded his lecture bureau in Boston, "the man of thought who wished to use the platform as a means to place his views before the public found many difficulties in his way."<sup>4</sup> All arrangements had to be made by the lecturer, who was forced to correspond with each lecture committee separately. The first lecture bureau was not organized until 1868,<sup>5</sup> ten years too late for Melville!

Melville delivered his first lecture in Lawrence, Massachusetts,

<sup>1</sup> Articles on Melville's lectures are as follows: J. H. Birss, "Herman Melville's Lectures in Yonkers," *American Book Collector*, V, 50-52 (Feb., 1934); J. H. Birss, "A New Lecture by Herman Melville," *New England Quarterly*, VII, 725-728 (Dec., 1934); M. R. Davis, "Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859," *Philological Quarterly*, XX, 46-57 (Jan., 1941).

References to Melville's lectures in books are as follows: J. E. A. Smith, *Biographical Sketch of Herman Melville* (Pittsfield, 1891), p. 18; Raymond W. Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 369-375; Meade Minnigerode, *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography* (New York, 1922), pp. 188-190; John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (London, 1926), p. 65; Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1922), p. 283; Willard Thorp (ed.), *Melville* (New York, 1938), pp. 396-397, 435-436.

<sup>2</sup> Original letter in Duyckinck Collection owned by the New York Public Library.

<sup>3</sup> See J. E. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> C. F. Horner, *Life of James Redpath* (New York, 1926), p. 120. See also J. S. Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas* (New York, 1926), pp. 104-105; C. B. Hayes, *American Lyceum* (U. S. Dept. of Interior Bulletin No. 12, 1932), p. 22; A. A. Wright (ed.), *Who's Who in the Lyceum* (Philadelphia, 1906), pp. 22, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Horner, *op. cit.*, p. 129.



on the night of November 23, 1857, for the benefit of charity.<sup>6</sup> No mention was made in any of the Lawrence newspapers, whose files are now extant, of the forthcoming lecture<sup>7</sup> until the morning of the event, Monday, November 23, 1857, when the triweekly *Courier* published the following: "Herman Melville's [*sic*] lecture for the benefit of the Lawrence Provident Association will be given this evening at City Hall. Subject—"The Statuary of Italy." The name of the lecturer and the cause we doubt not will secure a full house."<sup>8</sup> Even though the lecturer, on the event of his maiden effort, received tardy recognition from printed sources in Lawrence, the elements, it seems, marshaled their full force to trumpet his arrival. Melville undoubtedly enjoyed the storm and was pleased at this classic warning for one "too saucy with the gods." The newspapers recorded the disturbance as unusual but did not suggest that Melville was the cause!<sup>9</sup>

On Wednesday, November 25, 1857, appeared the following account of Melville's first lecture,<sup>10</sup> which I give in full:

#### MELVILLE'S LECTURE

The lecture delivered on Monday evening last, by Herman Melville, although much of it was spoken so low that a large part of the audience could not hear it, was a delightful entertainment to those who were more favorably placed or endowed with a keener sense of hearing.<sup>11</sup>

The theme announced—"Roman Statuary,"—gave no clue to the real subject, in that respect resembling those curiosity, awakening titles of

<sup>6</sup> Although Melville's *Account Book* (permission to refer to this item, now in the Harvard College Library, throughout this article has been kindly granted by Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf and authorities of Harvard University) indicates Lawrence, Massachusetts, as the place for the first lecture, Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-370, and Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-190, omit mention of this lecture in their printed list.

<sup>7</sup> There is a complete file of the Lawrence *Courier* in the Lawrence Public Library; the Andover *Advertiser* file owned by the Essex Institute of Salem, Mass., is complete for Nov. and Dec., 1857; the Lawrence *American* file owned by the Essex Institute has only the Nov. 14, 1857, issue; the Lawrence *Sentinel* file owned by the Essex Institute has the Nov. 21 and Dec. 5 issues but is lacking the issue of Nov. 28; there are no known files of the Lawrence *Reporter* or of the *Sunday Sun*.

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence *Courier*, Vol. XII, No. 206, Nov. 23, 1857.

<sup>9</sup> The Lawrence *Courier* of Nov. 25 devoted an entire article to the storm, stating in part: "A severe shower accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning and heavy thunder, passed over this city on Monday evening. It is quite unusual to have a thunder shower so late in the season."

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed account of the content of Melville's "Statuary in Rome" lecture, see Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-372.

<sup>11</sup> After two years of experience on the platform, Melville was still being criticized for his "limited vocal powers" and "feeble voice" (M. R. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

books by the same author. Typee and Omoo, titles which left English citizens in doubt whether the subject was romance or history, travel or adventure, fact or fiction, national history or fairy tale; while his own melifluous [*sic*] name was universally regarded as a *non* [*sic*] *de plume*.

To return to the lecture; the subject may be called, "The men of ancient Rome, studied in their busts and statues," and most admirable studies were presented of a great number of characters; studies marked throughout by keen insight, honest independence, bold originality, and great justness of vision.

Of the style, nervous and vigorous, yet easy and flowing, and falling constantly into the most melodious cadences; it can only be said in dispraise that it was perhaps too highly wrought, and too uniformly excellent.<sup>12</sup>

But this is a fault easily pardoned in these days of slip shod, newspaper, stump speech and small talk writing in all departments. Though bearing the stamp of the polished essay, to be enjoyed by the scholar in the seclusion of his study, than of the Lyceum Lecture, to beguile the tediousness of an hour, and provoke a smile from jaded and listless auditors; yet there were many expressions eminently *lecturesque*, showing the true artistic perception of that mental perspection which presents an idea in such a manner as to be properly appreciated from a distant stand point and at a hurried glance.

"That Tiberius?" exclaimed a lady in our hearing, "He does not look so bad." Madam, thought I, if he had *looked* bad, he could have been Tiberius, this is an illustration in point.<sup>13</sup>

The Lecturer, like many others unacquainted, with our City Hall, was baffled by its echoes. Though endowed with a voice which could shake its roof, he feared to speak too loud, lest he should be out-shouted by the mocking walls, and the consequence was that he spoke so low in general, as to be heard with difficulty except by those on the front seats.

The rain, which fell in torrents, accompanied by thunder and lightning, detained many from attending, and many who came got thoroughly wet.

The poor, in whose behalf Mr. Melville lectured gratuitously therefore received less.—The net proceeds, however, were over thirty dollars. All success attend the warm hearted and gifted lecturer.

On the following evening, Tuesday, November 24, 1857, Melville spoke in the Phenix Hall at Concord, New Hampshire, for a

<sup>12</sup> See comments of Midwestern critics who said the lectures were "too bookish to please" (*ibid.*).

<sup>13</sup> What the *point* of this illustration is appears uncertain. Should it possibly read "he could *not* have been Tiberius"?

fee of thirty dollars.<sup>14</sup> No accounts of this lecture were reported in any of the three Concord newspapers of that time.<sup>15</sup> The *Patriot* and the *Independent Democrat* published advanced notices of Melville's proposed lecture, as well as carrying the regular advertisement for the Pennacook Lyceum before which body Melville was to speak. The *Statesman*, which carried no advertisement, published no advance notice! The *Patriot*, five days before Melville had ever lectured, said in part: "... Melville ... has the reputation of being an interesting lecturer."<sup>16</sup> The *Independent Democrat* hedged a little more than its sister publication but wrote: "Mr. Melville, although little known to the public as a lecturer, has an extensive reputation as a writer of fiction."<sup>17</sup> These notices were fairly typical of the "promotion" given to the Lyceum lectures of Concord, and it is also fair to say that no lecturer, with the exception of Horace Greeley, received any published report of his lecture once delivered. All three Concord papers were published weekly and had little space for week-old post mortems. Forty-six years later, in 1903, Amos Hadley, who was the editor of the *Independent Democrat* at the time Melville lectured, included Herman Melville's name in a list of famous men who had appeared before the Pennacook Lyceum. This list was printed as part of a chapter written for the official history of the City of Concord.<sup>18</sup>

It is evident from the accounts of Melville's later lectures in Yonkers, New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, Rockford, Illinois, Quincy, Illinois, and finally in Cambridge, Massachusetts (see note 1, above), that Melville never was heard very well beyond the second row and was never understood by more than a few of his

<sup>14</sup> In Melville's *Account Book* (see n. 6, above), the November 24 date is first listed as *Concord (N. H.)* and then only as *Concord* in the final summary list. Weaver (p. 369) of his biography (*op. cit.*) added *Mass.* to the Concord in his reproduction of the summary list. Minnigerode did the same on page 189 of his book (*op. cit.*). Mumford in his biography (*op. cit.*, p. 283) apparently acting on the supposition that the place of this lecture was Concord, Massachusetts, asked, "Did Thoreau meet him at the station in Concord?"

<sup>15</sup> The three papers were: *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, the *Independent Democrat*, and the *New Hampshire Statesman*. Complete files of all these newspapers are to be found in the New Hampshire Historical Society Library in Concord, N. H.

<sup>16</sup> *N. H. Patriot and State Gazette*, N. S., Vol. XI, No. 548 (Whole No. 2548), Nov. 18, 1857.

<sup>17</sup> *Independent Democrat*, Vol. XIII, No. 30, Nov. 19, 1857.

<sup>18</sup> *History of Concord* (2 vols.; Concord, N. H., 1903), pp. 450-451. James O. Lyford was the general editor. Chap. xiii was written by Amos Hadley, and included the mention of Melville under "Literary Activity."

audience. It was his fate to be advertised as "the celebrated adventurer,"<sup>19</sup> and then after having been heard, to be passed off by the critics as "too bookish to please."<sup>20</sup>

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## RUSSIAN CHRISTMAS BEFORE THE MAST

SHERMAN KEN<sup>7</sup>

Yale University

WITH WHAT a modern scholar would call downright disingenuousness Richard Henry Dana, Jr., introduced his *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) in these words: "In the following pages I design to give an accurate and authentic narrative of a little more than two years. . . . It is written out from a journal which I kept at the time and from notes which I made of most of the events as they happened; and in it I have adhered closely to fact in every particular and endeavored to give each thing its true character."

There are at least two proofs that very little of the above was true. D. V. Gallery with some help from Dr. James D. Hart, who had access to the Dana papers, is responsible for the first.<sup>1</sup> In giving the position of his homeward-bound ship, the *Alert*, for May 22, 1836, Dana wrote in his manuscript for press: "Sunday, May 22d. Lat. 5° 14' N., long. 166° 45' W." Only if the ship had moved at the impossible speed of one thousand miles a day could it have reached this point in the four days since the last observation. Dana's notes on this entry, it turned out, were blurred, and instead of endeavoring to adhere closely to the fact he made a manifestly wild and incorrect guess.<sup>2</sup>

The second proof is equally small in itself, but perhaps even more revealing of the irresponsible way in which the author treated some of the details of the book.

<sup>19</sup> Lynn, Mass., *Weekly Reporter*, Vol. V, No. 52, March 12, 1859. This was an advance notice of Melville's Lynn lecture of March 16, 1859.

<sup>20</sup> M. R. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>1</sup> D. V. Gallery, "Too Far Before the Mast," *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, II, 60-64 (1939).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hart in "The Education of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.," *New England Quarterly*, IX, 16 (March, 1936), mentions a small notebook which Dana kept "in the most matter of fact manner with records of dates, but never longitude or latitude. . . ." Italics mine. This statement naturally suggests a great many problems, chief of which is: if Dana kept no such record, are any of his statements of his vessel's positions assumably correct? Dr. Hart will doubtless provide an answer in his forthcoming biography.

Early in December, 1835, the *Alert* put into San Francisco Bay and anchored close by a Russian brig which was trading in tallow and grain. Dana's description of the filthy vessel and her crew dripping with grease of the cargo is one of his most graphic. Later in the chapter (Chapter xxvi) he came back to the loathsome scene. The entry, "Friday, December 25th [1835]" reads: "This day was Christmas. . . . The Russian brig following the Old Style had celebrated their Christmas eleven days *before*,<sup>3</sup> when they had a grand blow-out and (as our men said) drank, in the forecabin, a barrel of gin, ate up a bag of tallow, and made a soup out of the skin." Now if these Russians were really on the old calendar, and if they were not hopelessly confused in their temporal whereabouts, they did not celebrate Christmas until eleven days *after* Dana. In the 1830's the Julian was eleven days *behind* not *ahead* of the Gregorian calendar. And so not until Dana's calendar read January 5, 1836, did the Russians drink their barrel of gin and eat their bag of tallow.

It is possible that at least one of the many editors of *Two Years Before the Mast* (Mr. Gallery asserts that there have been at least seventy-five editions of the book) noticed the error and would have been happy to set it straight. But unfortunately Dana rose to confound him. First of all, an editor could not do the easy thing and put the word *after* where the word *before* had stood. For this would have been to invest the author with a flair for soothsaying: "Eleven days hence the Russians will celebrate Christmas following the Old Style when some of our men will say of them that they are drinking a barrel of gin . . .," Dana would have been writing. And after all Dana himself was not interested in prophecy, he was trying to give the outward appearances of a conscientious diary-keeper.

Nor could the editor have moved the entry forward to where it belonged in Dana's narrative. The situation was far too complicated for such a simple solution. For on Russian Christmas while the tallow-smearing Russians were having their orgy of gin and grease, Dana and the *Alert*—according to Dana's own story—were in Monterey Bay some eighty miles to the south.

There are at least three explanations of the conflict in testimony, and none of them reflects much credit on Dana as a careful diarist.

The first one is this: The *Alert* sailed from San Francisco on

<sup>3</sup> *Italics mine.*

December 27 and quite definitely left the Russian brig behind her. She fired a parting salute to the anchored vessel, cleared the Golden Gate, and probably arrived in Monterey anchorage the next day. There, there was but a single other ship, "a Russian government bark from Asitka mounting eight guns . . . and having on board the ex-governor [of Russian America]. . . ." Now it is possible but highly improbable that this was the ship which Dana referred to in his Christmas Day [N.S.] entry. But she was a bark, not a brig (and Dana had an almost Kipling-like insistence upon accuracy in his technical jargon); she was a trim governmental craft bearing an ex-governor and not laden with tallow and undisciplined seamen; and the internal evidence is very strong that she left Monterey before January 5 [N.S.] anyway. If Dana was in Monterey on January 5 [N.S.], these were almost certainly not the Russians he described in the earlier entry.

A second explanation is perhaps more plausible. It is that the tallow laden brig followed the *Alert* to Monterey, and there in Monterey Bay celebrated Christmas. But if this were so, why had Dana put the happy event in San Francisco Bay three weeks earlier?

The third explanation seems the best. It is that Dana stayed in San Francisco a full nine or ten days longer than he asserts, that he did not leave there until after Russian Christmas, that he was remiss in his diary-keeping, and fell into pardonable confusion about the dates of old and new calendars. But in a way this explanation in its simplicity does even more damage to *Two Years Before the Mast* as a historical source than the other two. For it throws all his dating from that point forward out of kilter. If he was in San Francisco on January 5 [N.S.], he could not have been in Monterey much before the sixth. If he did all the things in Monterey which he describes, he probably stayed there ten days. If he got there on the sixth and stayed ten days, one thing is certain: he did not leave on the sixth no matter what he says in Chapter xvii. The point is that somewhere along the line he dropped a week and a half out of his life. When did he catch up? When after this unhappy confusion did his dating get back into phase with prosaic fact? Was the May 22 which puzzled Dr. Gallery really May 22 or was it June 1?<sup>4</sup> Did the *Alert* clear the Horn on July 22 or on August 1,

<sup>4</sup>There is no chance of using these ten days between May 18 and May 22 and thus accounting for the *Alert's* improbable speed. She would still be too fast for a sailing vessel, and anyway, longitude 166° W. is plainly some 50° out of her course.

1836, and did she land in Boston Harbor on September 18 or some other time?

Obviously this sort of criticism of *Two Years Before the Mast* has small bearing on its literary virtues, but it does relate to the value of the book as a historical source. Anyone who uses it should do so with full knowledge of his peril. The blame is on Dana and lies with the Rankeian tone of the introductory chapter. A more conscientious writer would not have vowed that he would write things as they actually happened when such a promise was impossible. A more conscientious writer might have prefaced the book with: "In the following pages I have tried to reconstruct my two years' voyage to the Pacific coast. To assist me I have used a small notebook of about twenty pages of long-hand jottings<sup>5</sup> (some of them very rough)<sup>6</sup> which I made at the time. I have also had my memory—not entirely a naked memory—but one somewhat assisted by a journal which I also kept. This journal was an expanded version of the notebook, but unfortunately it was lost almost immediately after my arrival through the carelessness of a well-intentioned cousin.<sup>7</sup> Four years have gone by since then and what appears hereafter is, I fear, a somewhat romanticized<sup>8</sup> and inevitably inaccurate story."

#### MARK TWAIN AND ISAAH SELLERS

ERNEST E. LEISY

*Southern Methodist University*

ACCORDING to Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain got his famous pen name from a patriarchal pilot, Isaiah Sellers, who signed it to squibs of river information in the New Orleans *Pica-yune*.<sup>1</sup> Sellers, it appears, was an egoist who annoyed his fellow pilots by reminiscences more remarkable than anything they could tell. According to him, any new-made records of distance, height, speed, or duration were always inferior to those made in the early

<sup>5</sup> James D. Hart, "The Education of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.," cited in n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> James D. Hart, "The Other Writings of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.," *Colophon*, Part XIX (Dec., 1934). Dr. Hart calls them "slipshod."

<sup>7</sup> James D. Hart, "The Education of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.," cited in n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Bliss Perry, "Dana's Magical Chance," in *The Praise of Folly and Other Papers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), pp. 1-15.

<sup>1</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 149-150.

days. Young Clemens could not resist lampooning the Captain and went him one better in a burlesque<sup>2</sup> which it seems broke the Captain's heart. Then, in order to make amends, Clemens borrowed Sellers's pen name in 1863<sup>3</sup> and attached it to all his work thereafter.

Clemens himself is responsible for this story. It appears in Chapter L of *Life on the Mississippi*, and is repeated in the recently published *Mark Twain in Eruption* (1940). It is not surprising, therefore, that Paine relates it as fact; yet there are reasons for doubting its authenticity. Every reader of the *Autobiography* is aware that Mark's creative memory sometimes supplied information, particularly concerning the long period before 1901, when Paine and Clemens first met.

I have examined the files of the New Orleans papers during the period when Clemens was a pilot on the Mississippi, but I find no evidence of anyone's using the sobriquet "Mark Twain." There are no Isaiah Sellers items, nor any other, bearing the signature "Mark Twain" in the *True Delta*, the *Delta*, the *Picayune*, or the *Daily Crescent* during the years 1857-61.<sup>4</sup> Since making this investigation, I find that Mr. Ivan Benson has reached the same conclusion by a different approach. Mr. Benson has examined the log of Captain Sellers and says: "Neither the name of 'Mark Twain' nor a single reference to Samuel Clemens occurs in the log," and, he concludes, "there was no 'original Mark Twain' other than Samuel Clemens himself."<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Benson finds the log of Captain Sellers "so badly written as immediately to raise doubt that Sellers ever wrote anything himself for the newspapers." Properly edited, however, his material found its way into one of them, as is indicated by an excerpt from his journal printed in the *True Delta* for March 22, 1859.<sup>6</sup> Under the heading "Steamboat and River Intelligence" appeared the following paragraphs:

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1593-1596.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine (ed.), *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York, 1917), I, 87. This, according to George H. Brownell, was thirteen months before the death of Sellers!

<sup>4</sup> Professor Guy Cardwell, Jr., of Tulane University, with the assistance of the Misses Eleanor Bentley, Grace Julian, Dolores Dye, Mr. Percy H. Shuc, Mrs. Clara Lantz, and Mrs. Allene Cockerell, has checked these newspapers with like negative results.

<sup>5</sup> Ivan Benson, *Mark Twain's Western Years* (Stanford University Press, 1918), p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to my former student Mrs. Allene G. Cockerell for this discovery.



While the obstruction at the mouth of the Mississippi is a topic of public interest, anything relating to the subject will be read with attention. The subjoined communication from our friend, Capt. Isaiah Sellers, forms no exception to the rule. Capt. S. is one of the oldest pilots on the Mississippi river, having been a riverman over thirty years. The following is an extract from his private journal, giving, among other interesting facts, the condition of the river in September, 1830. Trinity, at the mouth of Cash river, at that time, we ought to observe, was what Cairo has become since, a half-way house between St. Louis and the upper ports of the Ohio river:

(From Sellers Journal)

"Steamer Atlanta left Trinity, mouth of Cash, six miles above Cairo, on the Ohio river, Sept. 27, 1830—left at that place, bound for New Orleans, steamers North America, Uncle Sam, and Lafourche—passed steamer Neptune sunk two miles below Cairo. Depth of water at different points below as follows: At islands No. 2, 3, and 4, Canadian Reach, island No. 34, Big Prairie, islands No. 67 and 68, Bachelor's Bend and My Wife island, six feet. At Hard Times, eight feet. Three miles below Grand Gulf  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Eight miles below Rodney,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Steamer Natchez, Helen McGregor, and Caravan aground here. At Natchez island  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet. At Three Sisters, below Red river 10 feet. At Barker's bar, 9 feet. At Crab's bar, four miles below Plaquemine, 13 feet. Steamer Feliciana hard aground here, drawing 12 feet. At Grand River Reach, 10 feet. Steamer Walk-in-the-Water aground, drawing  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

During the Fall and Winter of this year, the river continued unusually low, extending through as much as five months; and so thoroughly did the water become impregnated with salt, that a school of porpoises passed New Orleans, and, it was said, went as high up as Plaquemine.

While the upper river was at this low stage, the tow boats Post Boy and Grampus towed to sea the packet ship Oceana, drawing 21 feet; a fact confirming the theory that low waters above tend to increase the depth of channels at the mouths of the Mississippi.

Further confirmation is found in the condition of the river during the years 1839 and '40, the average of which was very low, so much so that the lakes and ponds in the vicinity of Bolivar, Miss., and Helena, Arkansas, dried up and all the fish died. And at no time within those years did it rise within four feet of high water mark, yet we hear of no obstruction to navigation below, and believe that during these entire years vessels passed in and out over the bar without any difficulty.

During the present years, 1858-'9, high waters have generally prevailed. Within this period there has not been over sixty days of low water (in the months of September and October) and then it did not reach low-water mark, by about three and a half feet. Yet the deposit at the mouth has probably not been greater at any time since the foundation of New Orleans, nor greater difficulty experienced by vessels in crossing.

After 34 years of careful and constant observation, I am clearly of opinion that the changes so frequently occurring in the channel of this river, at certain points, are solely the result of the action of currents at extreme stages of high and low water on the banks and bed of the river. I notice that where the river is narrow, and the current strikes the bluff at right angles, there is invariable a shoal place immediately above. Take, for instance, Pawpaw Island. In very low water the channel follows around the bend with strong current. In high-water we find comparatively slack water in the bend, and heavy deposits of sand accumulating, so that directly after the water falls we always find the bend shoal.

The river in 1858 was 18 inches higher at Island 18, 70, and 71 than it has been since 1815. This is on record. During the latter year, the water was checked by the bluff above Walnut hills and backed up some fifty miles; so completely was the current checked, that skiffs and barges were rowed with ease from point to point up stream. In 1828, 1844, and 1851, the river was backed up from the same point, varying from 30 to 50 miles. In 1858, it was backed up from this and several other points, for instance at Memphis and Randolph. At Island 34 in low water, the channel is very shoal and current swift, in high water very little current and constantly filling with sand. This is the case at every narrow and shoal place above Cairo. I attribute the shoal water at Dog Tooth bend and Goose Island, mainly to the checking the flow of sand, by the frequent back-water from the mouth of the Ohio.

There is a very shoal place above Big Eddy, caused by the slack water in the bend when the river is high. At Grand Tower the fall in high water, between the Devil's Bake Oven and the Bluffs on the opposite side, is not less than four feet. I think this shows plainly, that the shallow water at the mouth of the Mississippi at this time, is caused by the Gulf throwing back the heavy deposit of sand, carried down by the high stage of water during the past season.

Isaiah Sellers"

The foregoing excerpt, in its emphasis on the low stage of the river, supplies the background for Clemens's lampoon mentioned in the first paragraph of this article. Apparently Paine had not seen the newspaper version; in any event, he was mistaken in assuming that the Sellers letter in the *True Delta* was a part of the burlesque in the *Daily Crescent*. In the *True Delta* for May 7, 1859, page 8, under the heading "Steamboat and River Intelligence," there are three paragraphs of comment on the exceptionally high water for that season. Then, in the inconspicuous fourth paragraph appears the matter in question:

Our friend, Capt. Sellers, one of the oldest pilots on the river and now on the Wm. M. Morrison, sends us a rather bad account concerning the state of the river. Capt. Sellers is a man of experience, and though we do not coincide in his view of the matter, we give his note a place in our columns, only hoping that his prophecy will not be verified in this instance.

Steamer Wm. M. Morrison  
Vicksburg, May 4, 1859

The river from your city up to this port is higher than it has been since the high water of 1815, and my opinion is that *the water will be in Canal Street* before the 1st day of June. Mrs. Turner's plantation, which has not been affected by the river since 1815, is now under water.

Yours, &c.,

Isaiah Sellers.

For the purposes of burlesque, Clemens transferred this news item to a rival paper, the *Daily Crescent* for May 17, 1859, page 7, column 6, under "River Intelligence," and altered it as follows:

Vicksburg, May 4, 1859.

My opinion for the benefit of the citizens of New Orleans: The water is higher this far up than it has been since 1815. My opinion is that the water will be four feet deep in Canal Street before the first of next June. Mrs. Turner's plantation at the head of the Big Black Island is all under water, and it has not been since 1815.

I. Sellers.

In the burlesque which follows, Clemens made still further changes from the version given in the *True Delta*, utilizing such points as would particularly amuse rivermen. I have bracketed the changes in the first two sentences; the remainder of the paragraph is Clemens's addition:

Our friend [Sergeant Fathom], one of the oldest [cub] pilots on the river, and now on the [Railroad Line steamer *Trombone*], sends us a rather bad account concerning the state of the river. [Sergeant Fathom] is a ["cub"] of [much] experience, and although we are loath to coincide in his view of the matter, we give his note a place in our columns, only hoping that his prophecy will not be verified in this instance. [While introducing the Sergeant, "we consider it but simple justice (we quote from a friend of his) to remark that he is distinguished for being, in pilot phrase, 'close,' as well as superhumanly 'safe.'" It is a well-known fact that he has made fourteen hundred and fifty trips in the New Orleans and St. Louis trade without causing serious damage to a steamboat. This astonishing success is attributed to the fact that he seldom runs his boat after early candle-light. It is related of the Sergeant that upon one occasion he actually ran the chute of Glasscock's Island, down-stream, *in the night*, and at a time, too, when the river was scarcely more than bank full. His method of accomplishing this feat proves what we have just said of his "safeness"—he sounded the chute first, and then built a fire at the head of the island to run by. As to the Sergeant's "closeness," we have heard it whispered that he once went up to the right of the "Old Hen,"<sup>7</sup> but this is probably a pardonable little exaggeration, prompted by the love and admiration in which he is held by various ancient dames of his acquaintance (for albeit the Sergeant *may* have already numbered the allotted years of man, still his form is erect, his step is firm, his hair retains its sable hue, and, more than all, he hath a winning way about him, an air of docility and sweetness, if you will, and a smoothness of speech, together with an exhaustless fund of funny sayings; and, lastly, an overflowing stream, without beginning, or middle, or end, of astonishing reminiscences of the ancient Mississippi, which, taken together, for a *tout ensemble* which is sufficient excuse for the tender epithet which is, by common consent, applied to him by all those ancient dames aforesaid, of "che-arming creature!"). As the Sergeant has been longer on the river, and is better acquainted with it than any other "cub" extant, his remarks are entitled to far more consideration, and are always read with the deepest interest by high and low, rich and poor, from "Kiho" to Kamschatka, for let it be known that his fame extends to the uttermost parts of the earth.]

After the innuendo in these introductory remarks, Clemens added a new parody of Sellers's original account of the high water and burlesqued his own version of Sellers.<sup>8</sup> He made the fun

<sup>7</sup> Glasscock's Island and the "Old Hen" were phenomenally safe places. (Clemens's note.) Glasscock's Island was near Hannibal, Mo., and the point might easily have been missed by the New Orleans editor.

<sup>8</sup> See Paine, *Mark Twain*, III, 1594-1596.

hilarious by adding such specific touches as "higher than it has been since the niggers were executed (which was in the fall of 1813)." "If the rise continues at this rate," he added, "the water will be on the roof of the St. Charles Hotel" before "the middle of January" (which was small comfort to the inundated area!). He admonished the inhabitants not to be too alarmed over the rise by telling them an absurd story of a Chinese captain and a Choctaw crew who sailed down the river in 1763, which concludes:

Well, sir, we wooded off the top of the big bluff above Selma—the only dry land visible—and waited there three weeks, swapping knives and playing "seven up" with the Indians, waiting for the river to fall. Finally, it fell about a hundred feet, and we went on. One day we rounded to, and I got a horse-trough, which my partner borrowed from the Indians up there at Selma while they were at prayers, and went down to sound around No. 8, and while I was gone my partner got aground on the hills of Hickman. After three days' labor we finally succeeded in sparring her off with a capstan bar, and went on to Memphis. By the time we got there the river had subsided to such an extent that we were able to land where the Gayoso House now stands. We finished loading at Memphis, and loaded part of the stone for the present St. Louis Court House (which was then in the process of erection), to be taken up on our return trip.

You can form some conception, by these memoranda, of how high the water was in 1763. In 1775 it did not rise so high by thirty feet; in 1790 it missed the original mark at least sixty-five feet; in 1797, one hundred and fifty feet; and in 1806, nearly two hundred and fifty feet. These were "high-water" years. The "high waters" since then have been so insignificant that I have scarcely taken the trouble to notice them. Thus, you will perceive that the planters need not feel uneasy. The river may make an occasional spasmodic effort to flood, but the time is approaching when it will cease to rise altogether.

In conclusion, sir, I will condescend to *hint* at the foundation of these arguments: When me and DeSoto discovered the Mississippi I could stand at Bolivar Landing (several miles above "Roaring Waters Bar") and pitch a biscuit to the main shore on the other side, and in low water we waded across at Donaldsonville. The gradual *widening* and *deepening* of the river is the whole secret of the matter.

Yours, etc.

SERGEANT FATHOM.

This lampoon on Captain Sellers throws light on Clemens's early methods of humorous composition, but there is nothing to warrant Paine's thinking that it broke the Captain's heart, and that, in order to make amends, he borrowed Sellers's pen name of "Mark Twain." What is more likely is that Clemens's own choice of the name "Fathom" gave rise in his mind to the term used for the same water sounding, Mark Twain, and that only in this remote, indirect way was he indebted to the redoubtable Isaiah Sellers.

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AN UNPUBLISHED MARK TWAIN LETTER

LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL

*University of California Library, Los Angeles*

IN 1897, when he was a professor in the Free Church Training College at Glasgow, the late Sir John Adams (1857-1934) sent a copy of his newly published work on the psychology of J. F. Herbart<sup>1</sup> to his favorite author, S. L. Clemens. Clemens replied from Vienna in a letter which he said was the longest he had written in ten years. Excerpts from it were published by Adams in 1929 in his *Everyman's Psychology* (pp. 202-203). Here it is printed in full, including a passage (printed in brackets) obliterated by Clemens and now revealed by an infrared lamp in the Huntington Library. The "mind-scheme" to which he refers as having been written down in the summer of 1898 and which he declared was not going to be published, was issued privately and anonymously in 1906 as *What is Man?* This letter may be regarded as a postscript to Twain's essay on man. The original is in the library of the University of California at Los Angeles, to which it was presented by Ernest Carroll Moore, who in turn received it from Lady Adams.

Hotel Krantz

Wien

Dec. 5/98

To John Adams, Esq.  
Free Church Training College  
Glasgow  
Great Britain

My dear Mr. Adams:

Like it? Most certainly I do. It came at a fortunate time for me, I will remark in passing; for my wife had ordered me to stop

<sup>1</sup> *The Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education, Being a Series of Essays Applying the Psychology of Johann Friedrich Herbart* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1897).

work and spend the day in bed, and rest up. And so, between 10 yesterday morning and 12 at night I was able to read to page 232 without a break—an uninterrupted view: a good thing, that. It is not fast reading, but then I cannot take things in swiftly if I wish to understand them—and also make marginal notes.

A curious thing is the mind, certainly. It originates nothing, creates nothing, gathers all its materials from the outside and weaves them into combinations automatically and without anybody's help—and doesn't even invent the combinations itself; but draws the scheme from outside-suggestions; and often doesn't know *whence* an apperception-mass (is that it?) of materials came nor *when* the collection was made—as per my present case! For I put upon paper last summer my notion of the nature of the mind and its manner of working, aware all the time that these notions had all been drawn from exterior sources, but wholly ignorant of the sources until your book revealed them to me; for (shall I confess it?) I have never read Locke nor any other of the many philosophers quoted by you. Your chapter on the Doctrine of Interest is going to tell me *why* my attention was called to the subject when I read it, no doubt. The subject took sudden possession of my interest a year ago—a suggestion from the outside, of course, a suggestion whose source I do not now know, a suggestion which I was probably not even strongly conscious of at the time.

So, all these months I have been thinking the thoughts of illustrious philosophers, and didn't know it. I merely knew that they were not *my* thoughts; that they all came from the outside; that neither I nor those philosophers nor any other person has ever had a thought which was his own; a thought born on the premises; a thought not brought in from the outside.

It does seem a little pathetic to reflect that man's proudest possession—his mind—is a mere machine; an automatic machine; a machine which is so wholly independent of him that it will not even take a *suggestion* from him, let alone a command, unless it suits its humour; that both command and suggestion, when offered, originate not on the premises but must in all cases come from the outside; that we can't make it stick to a subject (a sermon, for instance), if an outside suggestion of sharper interest moves it to desert; that our pride in it must limit itself to *ownership*—ownership of a machine—a machine of which we are not a part, and over

whose performances we have nothing that even resembles control or authority. It is very offensive. Any tramp that comes along may succeed in setting it in motion, but *you* can't. If you say to it, "Examine this solar system—or this Darwinian theory—or this potato" you can only say it or think it when the inspiration has come to you from the outside. And to think that Shakespeare and Watt, and we others can't even *combine* our idea-catches on plans original with ourselves, but that even the combination-scheme must come from the outside—gathered from reading and experience.

I am not charging that you and Locke and Herbart and the others make the mind a mere automatic machine working all by itself and independent of its owner, but *somebody* has had that notion, and it has come from that unknown source into my head.

Meantime, *which is I, and which is my Mind?* Are we two, or are we one? However, it is not important, for if we say "I will think," neither *I* nor the mind originates the suggestion—it came from the outside.

In my mind-scheme as written down last summer (it is not going to be published) there are one or two theories which I do not seem to find in your book, and so I do not know whence they came to me. [Among them the impulse which rouses a man's interest in any matter or moves him to perform any act whatever—*Selfishness* (not necessarily of a shabby or evil sort) is the destitution of *personal* merit or demerit in any human performance.]<sup>2</sup> I do not know the origin of these notions; I only know that ciphering them out and (apparently) establishing them has much diminished the vanity I used to feel in being a member of the human race.

However, I have one consolation: my automatic mental machine is not one of the fine and good ones, but a lubberly and ill-made one which is always likely to combine its raw materials into foolish and mistaken patterns—but getting its scheme *from the outside* and therefore not personally blameable for its crazy work.

It is the longest letter I have written in ten years, I think; but I do not apologize, for that would make it still longer. I thank you cordially for sending me the book; it has given me great pleasure and will give me more before I am done with it.

Sincerely yours,

S. L. Clemens

<sup>2</sup> (That was a confession—I'm not strong enough to stand by it.)



## MARK TWAIN AND THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

JAMES C. OLSON

*University of Nebraska*

THE LARGE collection of papers left by J. Sterling Morton, founder of Arbor Day and Secretary of Agriculture under President Cleveland, contains an interesting exchange of letters between himself and Mark Twain.

When Morton assumed his Cabinet position, he determined that the Department of Agriculture should be operated with the strictest economy. In accord with this object, he attempted to abolish the practice of distributing garden seeds, free of charge, to all who asked for them. A request, however, that he found impossible to resist was one from Mark Twain.

Clemens preceded his direct request of the Secretary by a letter from Florence, Italy, to Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century Magazine*. Gilder forwarded the letter which follows to Secretary Morton.

Villa Viviani  
Settignano (Florence)  
March 20/93

Dear Gilder:

If you know the chief of the Agricultural Department at Washington, won't you write & ask him if he won't be so good as to send Mrs. Clemens a hand full of seed-corn (maize)—two or three of the choicest varieties? It is hoped that she can have some new corn to gnaw in Italy before her year is out.

I sail for New York in a couple of days by the long route (Genoa) & shall look in upon you.

Ys Ever  
S. L. Clemens

Clemens received the requested seeds through Gilder. Upon his arrival in New York, he made another request, this time in a letter directly to the Secretary. The original of this letter was sent by Morton to his son, Paul Morton, and is not in the Morton Collection. The letter appears in the collection in the form of a copy bearing the stamp of the Department of Agriculture.

Editorial Department  
The Century Magazine  
Union Square, New York

April 6, 1893

Hon. J. Sterling Morton,

Dear Sir:

Your petitioner, Mark Twain, a poor farmer of Connecticut—indeed the poorest one there in the opinion of envy—desires a few choice breeds of seed-corn, (maize), and in return will zealously support the Administration in all ways, honorable and otherwise.

To speak by the card, I want these things to carry to Italy, to an English lady. She is a neighbor of mine outside of Florence, and has a great garden and thinks she could raise corn for her table if she had the right ammunition. I myself feel a warm interest in this enterprise; both on patriotic grounds and because I have a key to that garden, which I got made from a wax impression. It is not very good soil; still, I think she can raise enough for one table, and I am in a position to select the table.

If you are willing to aid and abet a countryman, (and Gilder thinks you are please find the signature and address of your petitioner below:

Respectfully & truly yours,  
Mark Twain  
67 Fifth Ave.,  
New York.

P.S.

A handfull of choice (Southern) water-melon seeds would pleasantly add to that lady's employments & give my table a corresponding lift. . .

Secretary Morton replied with the following letter:

April 11, 1893

Dear Mr. Mark Twain:

I have your note of the 6th petitioning for choice breeds of seed corn, and promising in return therefor to support the Administration in all ways, honorable and otherwise.

The inducement that you offer is so strong, that the corn is forwarded at once. It is hoped that the crop of "support" may be much larger than is now promised among some of our friends in New York.

I am much pleased to know that you are to become an agent for the introduction of corn as food among the Italians, and it is to be hoped that by a vigorous effort on the part of the English lady who is to cultivate the corn field, and a strong appetite on your part when the corn shall have been grown and boiled, that this delicious food may be popularized among the deluded consumers of macaroni [*sic*].

The watermelon seeds are also sent, and will no doubt produce fruit calculated to inspire larceny among all the youthful lazzaroni who may long for lusciousness.

Very truly yours,  
J. Sterling Morton

S. L. Clemens, Esq.,  
67 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

#### "SCENES OF MY CHILDHOOD": A COMMENT

KENDALL B. TAFT

Central YMCA College, Chicago

IN A RECENT issue of this journal, Mr. Charles Duffy points out that the opening lines of Samuel Woodworth's "The Old Oaken Bucket" may have been influenced by either Byron's "On a Distant View of the Village and School of Harrow on the Hill" or Thomas Campbell's "Lines on Leaving the River Cart."<sup>1</sup> I should like (1) to correct one of Mr. Duffy's statements, and (2) to suggest some additional Byronic influences on Woodworth's poem.

Accepting the dictum of an earlier authority,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Duffy says that "The Old Oaken Bucket" first appeared in Woodworth's *Melodies, Duets, Trios, Songs and Ballads* (1826). As a matter of fact, Woodworth's poem was first printed in the *Republican Chronicle* (New York) on June 3, 1818,<sup>3</sup> and was widely reprinted during the same year.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Scenes of My Childhood," *American Literature*, XIII, 167 (May, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XX, 224 (Nov., 1905).

<sup>3</sup> A nearly complete file of the *Republican Chronicle* is preserved in the Rutgers University Library. Woodworth's poem, entitled simply "The Bucket," and signed "Selim," appears on the first page of the issue indicated.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., *New York Evening Post*, July 10, 1818; *Weekly Visitor & Ladies Miscellany*, II, 172-173 (July 11, 1818); and *Academician*, I, 142-143 (Aug. 15, 1818).

There can be little doubt that Woodworth, in writing "The Old Oaken Bucket," drew upon Byron and various other literary sources.<sup>5</sup> The first four lines of Woodworth's poem are:

How dear to this heart are the scenes of my childhood,  
When fond recollection presents them to view!  
The orchard, the meadow, the deep-tangled wild-wood,  
And every loved spot which my infancy knew!

Mr. Duffy calls attention to Campbell's earlier use of the phrases "scenes of my childhood" and "dear to my heart," and Byron's use of "scenes of my childhood" and "lov'd recollection." He might have noted, further, that the last line of the Byron poem which he cites is: "Oh! such were the days which my infancy knew."<sup>6</sup> Byron made use of an almost identical line in the fourth stanza of his "When I Roved a Young Highlander": "More dear were the scenes which my infancy knew." An exact parallel for still another phrase in Woodworth's poem appears in the third line of the eighth stanza of Byron's "To George, Earl Delawarr": "Too late you may droop o'er the fond recollection."

Like most other American versifiers of his day, Woodworth read and admired the poetry of both Campbell and Byron.<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising, then, that his verse should contain the rather obvious echoes that have been noted. These echoes, of course, may be either direct or indirect. Taking into account the time at which Woodworth wrote, the student might well be surprised if such influences did *not* appear.

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#### DOUBTFUL WHITMAN LORE

LOUISE POUND

*University of Nebraska*

THE ISSUE of *American Literature* for March, 1941, had as its second article an account by Jennie Morgan of Lincoln, Nebraska, of an encounter in Louisiana in 1848 of her great-grand-

<sup>5</sup> "The Bucket" was written to the air of "Jessie, the Flower o' Dunblane," a popular lyric by Robert Tannahill (1774-1810) with music by R. A. Smith. The now familiar air of "The Old Oaken Bucket" is that of George Kiallmark (1781-1835), an English composer.

<sup>6</sup> "On a Distant View of the Village and School of Harrow on the Hill." Published in *Hours of Idleness* (1807), as were the other Byron poems mentioned in this comment.

<sup>7</sup> I have in preparation a biographical and critical study of Woodworth in which these questions of literary influence will be discussed in even greater detail than they are in my *Samuel Woodworth* (unpublished University of Chicago dissertation, 1936).

father, a Kentuckian, with Walt Whitman. The article was accompanied by careful and scholarly annotations by Professor Emory Holloway of Queen's College, our leading authority on the poet's life.

The authenticity of Miss Morgan's contribution seems to me very doubtful. Sometime in the middle or later 1930's, I am not sure of the exact year, she wrote or telephoned me asking me whether I could suggest a periodical, preferably one paying for manuscripts, which might print some Whitman matter coming from her mother. She had tried various magazines for some time, she said, the *Atlantic Monthly*, for example, without success. I spoke at once of the probable interest of *American Literature* in unpublished material concerning Whitman, adding that, like other scholarly publications, it does not pay for what it prints. On my inquiring as to the unmistakable authenticity of the reminiscences, she told me that she could not supply me with the originals. When I examined her manuscript article, passages presumably the reproduction of an old narrative did not impress me as clearly first-hand, suggesting old usages. They sounded rather as though of contemporary composition and expression and as though influenced by stock characterizations of Whitman. But this was an impression merely, and I am not very certain about details. It was something else that determined me to go no further in the matter.

Definitely the locale of the story in the version shown me then was Kentucky, where Miss Morgan's parents lived, not Louisiana as in the account published in *American Literature*. I recall clearly the statement that Whitman was on a walking tour in Kentucky when her great-grandfather, driving his hogs to market in 1848, at one of his camping places in the woods, had his encounter with the poet. After reading her narrative, I pointed out to Miss Morgan by telephone that Whitman went down the Ohio River on his way to Louisiana by boat in 1848; that he could hardly have taken days off from his steamboat journey for a tramping excursion in the Kentucky wilds; and that consequently the companionship, in the camp, of her great-grandfather and the poet, the latter on his way to New Orleans, seemed impossible in that year. She did not respond further or again guarantee authenticity, and I returned the manuscript.

So far as I can trust my memory, the narrative as printed in

*American Literature* has been considerably elaborated from that I saw in manuscript form. Details have been added and more dialogue supplied and the facsimile of Whitman's handwriting. What I am surest of, however, is the change from Kentucky to Louisiana of the place of association of Miss Morgan's great-grandfather and Whitman, the meeting that was the beginning of their friendship. I know little of hog marketing, but to me the long trek from Kentucky to New Orleans, or rather (see p. 10) from New York or New Jersey to Louisiana, to sell hogs, seems none too likely. To drive slow-moving herds of hogs that distance would need a long time, would be expensive for food for the slave caretakers, and their marathon might well leave the well-traveled hogs less marketable. There is testimony that in the middle of the century live hogs were often driven on board boats at Cincinnati, a practice that may or may not throw light on the marketing of hogs then. The banks of the Ohio would have been a more likely place of meeting than a remote camp by a river in Louisiana; but in neither version of her account was this the *locale*.

Miss Morgan had an article on "Four Friends of My Father" in the literary magazine of the University of Nebraska, the *Prairie Schooner*, which prints a miscellany of matter, essays, fiction, verse. Its editor, L. C. Wimberly, told me that he felt doubtful of the "historicity" of her article, but printed it because it seemed interesting and well written; and it is. The four friends are Sherman, Grant, Lincoln, and Whitman. The incidents involving these celebrities are told in sketch or fictional fashion, told dramatically with much dialogue supplied. It is a pathetic incident of his hospital days in which Whitman figures. One notes that it is her "great-grandfather" who associates with Whitman, both apparently in the prime of life, in the *American Literature* narrative, and her "father" who knows him in Miss Morgan's *Prairie Schooner* sketch. How about her grandfather? How many generations of Miss Morgan's ancestors chanced to know Whitman as a contemporary?

The distinction between clearly authenticated biography and the imaginative biographical sketch is not always clear to lay readers. And the details of remote facts, handed down through a generation or two, may easily become confused in the minds of their last inheritors.

## A REPLY

JENNIE A. MORGAN

*Lincoln, Nebraska*

AS REGARDS Miss Louise Pound's comments on "Early Reminiscences of Walt Whitman" in *American Literature* for March, 1941, I submit the following:

On page 412, the last line, Miss Pound says: "So far as I can trust my memory." In the whole article my recollection varies from hers only in one slight detail. When I spoke to her about my reminiscences I had not presented them to the *Atlantic Monthly*. My recollection is that I said in effect that my material was not appealing to any but scholarly magazines and not suitable for magazines of the character of the *Atlantic Monthly*. As I remember, Miss Pound offered me, if accepted, what she termed a nominal sum for the use of my material for *American Literature*.

I mailed Miss Pound the narrative that my mother told me forty-five years after it was told to her by her grandfather, Ben Smith, and Ben Smith told it seventeen years after its occurrence. I remembered only the high lights of the incidents; the wager, the bath, the booklet with its inscription. I knew my great-grandfather's plantation was near Lexington, Kentucky; I remembered my mother's saying, "The first pen was reached in good time." I supposed this was a day's journey from Ben Smith's home. When Miss Pound telephoned me that Whitman was elsewhere at that time and I told my mother, she thought of Ben Smith's once taking a sick neighbor's hogs to New York. A letter of Ben Smith telling about this journey was found. A copy was mailed to Miss Pound. She objected to the word usage. I have since thought she might not have taken into consideration the early marriages of girls at that time and have thought my great-grandfather older than he was.

Miss Pound's recollection mentioned in the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 412 is correct. The narrative as printed in *American Literature* is more complete than that which I presented to Miss Pound. In the interim the effects of my brother Daniel Kendley Morgan were sent me. Old letters revived my mother's memory, and we were able to add details which we had forgotten. The packet contained the inscribed flyleaf of the Whitman booklet.

Miss Pound underestimates the traveling power of the "razorbacks." My mother told me that "razorbacks" were more nearly ponies than modern hogs and that often they without damage to themselves raced horses. Concerning the feeding of the slave caretakers, they had to be fed if at home; and as tobacco was Smith's only crop and at this season entailed no labor, the journeyings were one way "to keep the darkies out of mischief." Too, my mother always felt that her grandfather Smith was a great rationalizer. She took his axiom, "Never waste money on travel and visits—travel where business calls only," with a grain of salt. Ben Smith's frequent trips to Missouri to trade setting eggs with daughter Jane or swap tobacco seed with son Jerry were jokes with the family.

Concerning Miss Pound's comments on the article in the *Prairie Schooner*. The title as printed is "Four Men My Father Knew." My father's choice of title for me to use was "Four Men My Father Met." Mr. Wimberly, with my consent, changed this title, for we felt these encounters were more than casual meetings. By "historicity" Mr. Wimberly told me in effect that he meant that the narrative passing from one to another would suffer change though it maintained the same spirit.

My father first met Whitman in the hospital room of a convalescent soldier. But the incident related in the *Prairie Schooner* took place away from institutional life in the parlor of a private home among well persons of friendly equality.

I think the Whitman incident shows the poet's sane philosophy of life and his ability to make straight and sunny the crooked, shady paths of others.

Miss Pound appears to question the possibility of both my great-grandfather and father being contemporaries of Whitman. The line was on the maternal side, and generations came quickly when girls married and became mothers young.

The meeting between the poet and my great-grandfather took place when the latter was about fifty years of age, Mr. Whitman thirty. I reckon Ben Smith's age thus. He was married at twenty; his son Jerry was born some two years later; and Mary Jane Smith Kendley's birth was eighteen months later than Jerry's. Thus he was nigh twenty-five years old at her birth. Mary Jane married young (fifteen or seventeen perhaps), gave birth to a daughter in about two years and six years later to my mother Manie. Thus



Mary Jane was near twenty-five years old when Manie was born; and Ben Smith, her father, was near fifty. Manie was born in 1848. My father was twenty-four years old at the meeting with Whitman as printed in the *Prairie Schooner*; Whitman was forty-four. My maternal grandfather Winfred Kendley died in 1854, when my mother was six years old.

When my father told these incidents to me, he used dialogue. I realize he could not have remembered the exact words; I do not claim to have remembered his exact words. But each of us cared enough to catch the spirit, though we may have altered the letter. The same is true of the Whitman reminiscences printed in *American Literature*.

The painstaking patient correspondence of Mr. Holloway with me proves that he recognized in full the problem involved in squaring, as nearly as possible, the honest recollections of some admirers of Whitman with the facts of the poet's life. Dr. Holloway's annotations show the reader what questions came to this student of the great poet; they show too Mr. Holloway's industry in setting forth "these reminiscences for what they are worth," with fairness.

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#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1943, a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American Literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- A Study of Henry Adams's Career as a Journalist and Editor. Ernest Samuels (Chicago).
- The Life of Thomas Affleck, Agricultural Writer and Editor. Fred C. Cole (Louisiana, History).
- The Literary Criticism of Gamaliel Bradford. Reginald Capon (Boston).
- Concepts of Genius and the Esthetic Experience in Emerson's Critical Theory. Vivian C. Hopkins (Michigan).
- Goethe and the Genteel Tradition in America. Manfred Klein (Columbia, German).
- Unpublished Letters of Bret Harte. Bradford A. Booth (California, Los Angeles).
- Philosophy in the Novels of William Dean Howells. Hannah Graham Belcher (Michigan).
- Mark Twain's *The Gilded Age*: Its Composition, Reception, and Structure. M. L. Rosenthal (Chicago).
- Literary and Educational Influences in the Life of Edgar Lee Masters, 1869-1900. Kimball Flaccus (New York University, School of Education).
- A Subject-Index of Melville's *Mardi*, *Moby Dick*, and *Pierre*. Gordon Roper (Chicago).
- Paul Elmer More's Literary Criticism. William Zoller (California, Berkeley).
- The Life and Times of Joseph Priestley, 1733-1804. Mary C. Park (Pennsylvania).
- Sarmiento's Relations with the United States. Dorothy Nepper (Bryn Mawr, Spanish).
- Propaganda Technique in Upton Sinclair. Earl Lockard (Chicago).
- T. B. Thorpe: A Critical Biography. Edward Day Stewart (Chicago).
- Verlaine in England and America. Doris Zack (Columbia, French).
- N. P. Willis and "Fanny Fern." Mrs. Mary Crandon (Pennsylvania State College).
- Zola in America. Isabelle Gonon (Bryn Mawr, French).

## II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- Adaptation of French Plays on the New York and Philadelphia Stages, 1860-1890. Caspar H. Nannes (Pennsylvania).
- American Influences on Filipino Thought since 1898. Alfredo Morales (Michigan).
- A Bibliography of English Travel Literature in Nineteenth-Century America. Ada Nisbet (California, Los Angeles).
- The California Gold Rush in Literature, 1848-1876. Rose Eyring (California, Berkeley).
- The California Gold Rush in Literature, 1876-1929. Otto W. Reutinger (California, Berkeley).
- The Confederate South, 1865-1910: A Study in the Survival of a Mind and Culture. Richard M. Weaver (Louisiana).
- Doctors and Medical Science in Ante-Bellum South Carolina. Nell Hines (North Carolina, History).
- Early Newspapers in Southern California. William A. Rice (California, Los Angeles, History).
- The Early Vocabulary of Maine. Muriel I. Brothers (Chicago).
- The Expanding Range of Poetic Function in American Periodicals. Eric W. Carlson (Boston).
- The Farm in American Literature from Crèvecoeur to Garland. Chester Eisinger (Michigan).
- The German Element in South Carolina. William Monroe Geer (North Carolina, History).
- Historische und deskriptive Grammatik der pennsylvanisch-deutschen Sprache. Paul Schach (Pennsylvania, German).
- The History and Interpretation of Shakespeare's *Othello* on the American Stage. Barbara Alden (Chicago).
- A History of the Atlanta *Constitution*. Jack E. Kendrick (North Carolina, History).
- The History of the Cleveland Theater. William S. Dix (Chicago).
- A History of the Mobile, Alabama, Stage. Alfred O. Wilkinson (Michigan).
- Literary Criticism in the New York Magazines from 1865 to 1880. Charles Manning (North Carolina).
- The Phonology of the Speech of East Central Alabama. James B. McMillan (Chicago).

- The Political Novel in American Literature, 1865-1910. William B. Dickens (Michigan).
- Studies in the Literature of the Appalachian Mountains. Carvel Collins (Chicago).
- A Study of Literary Nationalism in American Magazines, 1770-1833. M. Johnson Hagood (North Carolina).
- A Study of the French Patois of Lafourche Parish in Louisiana. John Guilbeau (North Carolina, Romance Languages).
- The Technique of Propaganda in the Antislavery Press. Ulysses G. Lee (Chicago).
- Three Studies in Ante-Bellum Southern Romanticism: William A. Caruthers, William Elliott, and James Mathewes Legaré. Curtis Carroll Davis (Duke).
- The Utopian Element in American Literature. Henry Howard Eddy (Harvard).
- Various Views of the Catholic Church in the Writings of New England, Especially in the Nineteenth Century. John Bovey (Harvard).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- The American Play-Party Song, with a Collection of Oklahoma Texts and Tunes. Benjamin Albert Botkin (Nebraska, 1936).
- The American Reputation and Influence of William Blake. Raymond Earl Blois (Boston, 1941).
- An Analysis of Trends in American Homiletic Theory since 1860. Elton Abernathy (Iowa, Speech, 1940).
- Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and the American Civil War. James Harvey Young (Illinois, History, 1941).
- The Attitude of New England toward Westward Expansion, 1800-1850. Joseph M. Nance (Texas, History, 1941).
- Conservatism and Liberalism in the Theology of Late Nineteenth-Century American Protestantism. John B. Behney (Yale, Religion, 1941).
- A Critical Edition of Sidney Lanier's *Tiger-Lilies*. Cecil Emory Abernethy (Vanderbilt, 1940).
- David Dale Owen, Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West. Walter Brookfield Hendrickson (Harvard, History, 1941).

- Democracy in Post-Revolutionary America. Eugene P. Zink (Columbia, Educational Research, 1941).
- Edward Loomis Davenport, America's Most Versatile Actor. Norman H. Reid (Michigan, Speech, 1941).
- The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765. Robert L. Meriwether (Columbia, History, 1940).
- Factors Influencing Family and Community Organization in a New England Town, 1730-1940. Wendell Hubbard Bash (Harvard, Sociology, 1941).
- Father deSmet: a Biography. Helene Margaret (Iowa, Creative Writing, 1940).
- Foreign Plays on the American Stage, 1870-1900. Ruth Bilgray (Chicago, 1941).
- French Émigré Priests in the United States, 1791-1815. Leo F. Ruskowski (Catholic, History, 1940).
- General John Burgoyne as a Literary Man. Gus Orr (Louisiana, Drama, 1941).
- George Barrell Cheever, Puritan Protagonist. Robert Maurice York (Clark, History, 1941).
- Hawthorne as a Critic of Nineteenth-Century America. Lawrence Sargent Hall (Yale, 1941).
- Hawthorne's French and Italian Notebooks. Norman H. Pearson (Yale, 1941).
- The History of Instruction in American Literature in American Colleges and Universities, from 1827 to 1939. John Smith Lewis, Jr. (New York University, School of Education, 1941).
- A History of the New Orleans Theater, 1806-1842. Nelle Smither (Pennsylvania, 1941).
- Horace Greeley, Apostle of Social Democracy, 1853-1861. Jeter A. Isely (Princeton, History, 1941).
- The Intellectual Life of Early Charleston. Frederick Patten Bowes (Princeton, History, 1941).
- Irving Babbitt and Rousseauism. Robert Stephin Schorsch (Notre Dame, Philosophy, 1940).
- James Russell Lowell's *The Biglow Papers*. Arthur Webster Miller Voss (Yale, 1941).
- John Witherspoon's Theory and Practice of Public Speaking. Wilson Benton Paul (Iowa, Speech, 1940).

- Joseph Tuckerman, Pioneer in American Social Work. Daniel T. McColgan (Catholic, Social Science, 1940).
- Life and Works of John Fox, Jr. Arthur Newman Kruger (Louisiana, 1941).
- The Merchants and Mercantile Life of Colonial Philadelphia. Harry Dahl Berg (Iowa, History, 1940).
- Modifications of Town Government in New England. Laurence Luther Barber (Harvard, Political Science, 1941).
- The Moral Philosophy of Santayana. Milton K. Munitz (Columbia, Philosophy, 1940).
- Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860. Sister Marie L. Fell (Catholic, History, 1941).
- The Negro in School Textbooks in American History: A Comparison of Textbook Content, 1826-1939, with Developing Scholarship in the History of the Negro in the United States. Mrs. Mary C. Carpenter (Columbia, Educational Research, 1941).
- The Pronunciation of the French Spoken at Brunswick, Maine. William Nash Locke (Harvard, Romance, 1941).
- ✓ The Rise of the New York *World* during the Civil War Decade. Julius Marcus Bloch (Harvard, History, 1941).
- Sentimentalism in American Periodicals, 1741-1800. Mildred Davis Doyle (New York, 1941).
- The Sermons of Samuel Johnson. Jean H. Hagstrum (Yale, Religion, 1941).
- Social Conditions in Industrial Rhode Island, 1820-1860. Alexander Joseph Brennan (Catholic, Social Science, 1940).
- Some General Canons of Literary Criticism Determined from an Analysis of Art (With Analysis of Several American Books and Poems). Paul F. Speckbaugh (Catholic, Fine Arts, 1936).
- Some Influences of the Adoption of International Copyright on the American Drama. Edward Francis O'Meara (Notre Dame, 1940).
- Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century. Susie M. Ames (Columbia, History, 1940).
- The Use of Ethical Principles by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in *The Federalist*. Frederick William Williams (New York, Philosophy, 1940).

The Vogue and Influence of Wilkie Collins in England and America. Henry James Wye Milley (Yale, 1941).

The Work of Frank Lloyd Wright before 1910. Grant Carpenter Manson (Harvard, Art, 1941).

#### IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

Gothic Trends in American Literature. William S. Dix (Chicago).

A History of Texas Literature. Donald Day (Chicago).

An Interpretation of Regionalism, Especially as Manifested in American Literature. Edward Day Stewart (Louisiana).

#### V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Curtis Carroll Davis (4436 Duke Station, Durham, N. C.) is making a special study of W. A. Caruthers, William Elliott, and J. M. Legaré. He would be glad to learn of material about these men, particularly reviews of their writings.

Dr. Carl S. Downes, University of California at Los Angeles, is working on a study of woman in American fiction. Part of the study is ready for publication.

Walton R. Patrick, Louisiana State University, is at work on a critical study of Sherwood Anderson.

Dr. John Ross, on leave of absence from the University of California at Los Angeles, is engaged on a study of satire in American fiction.

Prof. George Weida Spohn, St. Olaf College, is preparing an authorized biography of the American author, Winston Churchill.

Prof. Dixon Wecter, University of California at Los Angeles, is studying the spirit of disillusion in American literature and culture from 1865 to 1898.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN GIANT: *Walt Whitman and His Times*. By Frances Winwar.  
New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1941. xiv, 341 pp.  
\$3.50.

Miss Winwar's biography is provocative, seducing; her narrative power undoubted. She carries the reader with her. This book is apt to influence the opinions of students, as well as the "divine average" American. Because of this, there is need for adequate corrective review, pointing out specific errors and lacks.

It is claimed that this is a "definitive biography," but it fails to be that because of its inadequacy in scholarship and research. Many of the conclusions are drawn from partial evidence or fallacious inductions. The writer is at her best as a storyteller, at her worst in interpretation. She should let facts speak for themselves, but she constantly interposes herself between Walt Whitman and the reader, so that Whitman never has a chance to become a "round" living character. He serves as a framework on which to drape her theories. Her criticism is mainly sound, but often interrupts the flow of the narrative. Her reiterations of "titanic" and "virile" are not convincing because they are not backed up specifically by references to Whitman's life and work. She seems never to have learned that simply asserting something does not prove it.

Miss Winwar has a penchant for new and strange slants on "problems." She gets a half truth, then jumps at conclusions. She is an ideal literary reporter who covers her assignment successfully, but she is romantic and perhaps overenthusiastic about the "giant" she is celebrating.

Among the deficiencies of the book, these stand out: an unwarranted emphasis on a New Orleans romance; a mistaken inference about another romance in Washington; a weak attempt to discredit Whitman's own story of his illegitimate children, without offering any testimony against it; an inadequate portrayal of Whitman's mother, as well as the rest of the family; and a misrepresentation of the money involved in Whitman's tomb building. I submit herewith evidence largely from unpublished original sources to correct all these points.

One of the pivotal proofs advanced by Miss Winwar for a clandestine affair with a woman in New Orleans in 1848 is introduced as follows: "There is . . . pasted on a page of one of his notebooks a tintype photograph of a young woman, treasured lovingly by the man who, before his death, took care to destroy all intimate records of his New Orleans sojourn. She is a girl of from twenty to twenty-five years old. . . . Her



'large luminous bright eyes' gaze not into the lens of the camera, . . . but with a fervid intensity, a concentration of meaning, toward someone, perhaps Whitman, standing to one side when the photograph was taken." Miss Winwar, when she employs this tintype as evidence of a mistress in New Orleans in 1848, evidently overlooks the fact that the tintype process was not discovered until 1855!<sup>1</sup>

Miss Winwar is inconsistent in her use of quotations from Whitman himself in order to prove her arguments about Whitman's nature. In delineating his "ideal of manly affection," she quotes to show his "daring sexuality":

Their shapes arise, the shapes of full-sized men!  
Men taciturn yet loving, used to the open air, and the manners of the open air, . . .  
Take what I have then, (saying fain,) take the pay you approached for,  
Take the white tears of my blood, if that is what you are after.

Yet in order to convince the reader that Whitman was not really homosexual, but had normal relations with a woman in New Orleans, she quotes a similar passage:

Fierce Wrestler! do you keep your heaviest grip for the last?  
Will you sting me most even at parting?  
Will you struggle even at the threshold with spasms even more delicious than all before?  
Does it make you to ache so to leave me?  
Do you wish to show me that even what you did before was nothing to what you can do?  
Or have you and all the rest combined to see how much I can endure?  
Pass as you will: take drops of my life, if that is what you are after  
Only pass to some one else, for I can contain you no longer. . . .

"Never before," Miss Winwar comments on the above passage, "had an American writer written so powerfully the language of the senses still reeling in the drunkenness of fulfillment. Who was the woman whose power had overthrown the flood gates of his resistance, letting loose the torrents of his desire? . . . Who the woman was he never told." She then enlarges for four pages upon the sex relation which he recorded in those lines. She characterizes it as "his first and only experience of complete, generous, pure, and exalting love."

The true nature of this intimate experience is more fully revealed in the following manuscript version of this poem, to which Miss Winwar did not have access:

Grip'd Wrestler! do you keep the hardest pull for the last?  
Must you bite with your teeth with the worst spasms at parting?  
Will you struggle worst when I plunge you from the threshold?  
Does it make you ache so to leave me?  
Take what you like, I can resist you no longer.  
I think I shall sink.

<sup>1</sup> Authority: Prof. Theodore Lyman and Prof. George S. Forbes of Harvard. See also Bernard E. Jones, *Cassel's Cyclopaedia of Photography* (London, 1911), p. 240.

Take drops of my life, if that is what you are after.  
 Only pass to someone else, for I will contain you no longer.  
 Pass to someone else; leap to the nearest landing.  
 Little as your mouth is, it has drained me dry of my strength.  
 I am faintish.

This more explicit reading hardly bears out her romantic picture of a woman in New Orleans—or at least it shatters the fabrication of an “experience of complete, generous, pure, and exalting love.”

“His renunciation” of his mistress in New Orleans, we are told, “remained the profoundest grief of his life.” That is Miss Winwar’s belief. But Whitman never said that, or anything like it. He did write to Pete Doyle in August, 1873: “Mother’s death . . . is the great cloud of my life—nothing that ever happened before has had such an effect on me.” A month later he wrote to Abby Price that it was “the only staggering, staying blow and trouble I have had—but *unspeakable*.”

The mysterious references in Whitman’s notebooks<sup>2</sup> to “16” and “164” are deftly and definitely identified by Miss Winwar. “The 16 or 164 whom he must pursue no more was a woman, a married woman in Washington whose husband watched over her in jealousy and suspicion. Nellie O’Connor made mention of this love affair.” But Mrs. O’Connor does not say that the woman lived in Washington, nor does she give the woman’s name. Her words are:

He had met a certain lady, and by some mischance a letter revealing her friendship for him fell into her husband’s hands, which made this gentleman very indignant and jealous, and thereupon, in the presence of his wife and another lady, he abused Walt. All that excited Walt’s sympathy for the lady, over and above the admiration and affection he felt for her, so that in telling about it, he said, “I would marry that woman to-night if she were free”. . . . It was this lady for whom he wrote the little poem . . . beginning: “Out of the rolling ocean, the crowd.”

According to manuscript records of John Burroughs, William Sloane Kennedy, and Thomas B. Harned, that poem was written about Juliette H. Beach, whose relationship with Whitman answers perfectly to Mrs. O’Connor’s description. Her husband published a newspaper in Albion, New York. Occasionally the Beaches went to New York, where they knew the Bohemian clique centering around Henry Clapp and the *Saturday Press*. Clapp wrote to Whitman while he was in Boston seeing the 1860 edition through the press, “Send a copy to Mrs. Juliette H. Beach, Albion, New York. She will do you great justice in the *Saturday Press*.” A review appeared in the *Press* June 2, 1860. The tone was entirely unfavorable: “The poet should drown himself in the sea he loves so much.” Clapp later printed a notice that the review had been written

<sup>2</sup> See Edward Hungerford, “Walt Whitman and His Chart of Bumps,” *American Literature*, II, 352 (Jan., 1931), for proof that these numbers refer to phrenological terms.

by Mr. Beach. But Juliette wrote letters to Walt. At least once she met him. In spite of Whitman's assertion that he would marry her if she were free, he made no move to do so when her husband died in 1868.

Whitman's alleged illegitimate children "never existed except as figments of an old man's boastful fancy," Miss Winwar states confidently, but she does not support her assertion. Thomas B. Harned recorded in unpublished MSS: "Whitman, more than a year before his death, told me that he was the father of some children. . . . None of these children have been heard from. Are they only the children of psychology?" John Burroughs said, "I really doubt Walt's ever having had a child of his own." Charles Eldridge writes: "No such thing can possibly be true. There were evidences that he was not in his right mind for the last two years of his life, and this is one of them." William Sloane Kennedy told me that Horace Traubel asserted that Walt said he had had five children by two women, one in New Orleans and one in Washington. Upon this, Kennedy commented: "I think this is all romancing on Walt's part to relieve himself of the charge of man-love." Moncure D. Conway summed up the story by saying that Walt was "giving way to a senile temptation to pose as papal!"

Miss Winwar consistently sentimentalizes the whole Whitman family in a maudlin way that would have been impossible if she had consulted the hundreds of letters in existence from Louisa Whitman, Jeff Whitman, George Whitman, Hannah Heyde, and Charles Heyde. Her partial portraits are uniformly more flattering than is warranted by a full knowledge of the facts. For instance, she draws unwarranted inferences from the few scraps of Mother Whitman's letters that she utilizes. There is but a single page made up of these excerpts, taken from the American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, Sale Number 4251, pp. 59-60. With typical romantic imagination, Miss Winwar says that Walt's "eyes filled with tears as he read her pathetic, illiterate letters." But with equally romantic inaccuracy, she does not transcribe from her sources carefully. She prints "walt" for the "walter" of the original, just as in quoting Professor Emory Holloway's excellent accurate transcriptions from Whitman's notebooks (*Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 91) she misquotes: "It is now time . . . to live and provide from M—," where Professor Holloway gives "for M—."

When Louisa Whitman writes to Walt about the "Ballad of Sir Ball": "i hope nobody will think you wrote it walt," Miss Winwar comments, "He had been in so much trouble on account of what he wrote!" An examination of the original letters of Mrs. Whitman, 141 in number, reveals much more of her attitude toward her son's work than do these scanty passages. For instance, February 12, 1868, "so your writin again

leaves of grass well if it dont hurt you i am glad." Illuminating, too, are Mother Whitman's recitals of intimate details of family life. Miss Winwar says, "Nor had Walt ever understood the dour, silent man whose body, laid in Evergreen Cemetery, was still alive in his." Mother Whitman's letters record a fuller picture:

good luck to you walter dear dont you remember your poor old father always wished that wish to everyone . . . your poor father has paid the debt of nature we have all got to pay sooner or later we know not the day nor the hour but we know it must come we must die but when it comes to our own then is the time we feel the affliction . . . i could say nothing but felt resigned to the will of god i summoned all the calmness i could . . . coming from the evergreens where poor father was laid in a quite spot the babtist minister spoke very feelingly and very much

Miss Winwar says: "Impatiently she waited for the letters from Washington—tipping the postman for prompt delivery—and not because the money they contained was almost the sole income of an old woman and her helpless son!" The reason she tipped the postman was because the money Walt sent in letters was often stolen in the mails. He writes March 23, 1866: "The postmaster knows about the letters & money being stolen—the Post Office here has conferred with him on the subject." Later, "I feel quite unsettled how to send anything—the letters seem to be so liable to be stolen." On April 23, 1866: "Mother I sometimes think the old letter-carrier you had must be the thief." Again, "The Brooklyn P.O. has a very bad name, & a great many money letters sent there never get to their destination." So they hit upon the scheme of giving money to the postman. Mother Whitman writes to Walt on February 12, 1868:

i have just got your letter i thought it was a goner but it has come all safe with the 2 dollars . . . the carrier seems very obliging i gave him the 50 cents for new year and last week i gave him 25 cents

Following the tendency of sentimental biographers toward hagiography, Miss Winwar portrays Walt's mother as uniformly "uncomplaining," yet one hardly finds a single letter from her to Walt that does not contain such passages as these:

well walt i should never have made any complaint if you hadent have wrote to me you should certainly get a place for you and edd and me i hope you may succeed walter i have not been very happy here . . . sometimes it was very disagreeable to me

i have put a blanket up to the windows to keep the wind out when its northeast its almost impossible to keep warm i have had a pretty hard winter so far . . . it has been almost as much as your life was worth to get to the privy it is so descending and slippery

if i had one more room but i might as well wish for a house . . . if i could only rest but that seems almost impossible the going up and down stairs tires me . . . i tell matt i shall be favorable to water closets after this

Miss Winwar's sentiment likewise runs away with her in treating the case of Walt's sister, Hannah: "Walt and Louisa saw the proud, spirited

girl forcing herself to make life tolerable with a selfish, vain, brutal man." Hannah herself was not blameless, as has been shown in a thorough scholarly study by Katherine Molinoff [*Some Notes on Whitman's Family* (Brooklyn, 1941)]. She was evidently neurotic, if not actually psychopathic, as revealed by her letters to Walt and to Louisa Whitman, and by Walt's correspondence with her physician, Doctor Thayer, of Burlington, Vermont. At sixteen she had eloped from boarding school with an artist, Charles Heyde, climbing out of a window down a ladder. Thirteen years later she married Heyde. She was a slovenly inefficient housekeeper, who reveals herself as anything but an admirable character in her letters. Her husband was even worse, and was finally committed to an insane asylum. A typical letter from Hannah to her mother reads:

You remember how I like books on the table sometimes Charlie will take them most all away when he is angry & the Book of Ruth, that you gave me and Walt's picture, & even Leaves of Grass is gone. Charlie has been cross ill natured fault finding so long. He gets so violent breaks everything almost he can lay his hands on. I had a pretty toilet looking glass, stood on a little table one corner of the room the legs turned I could hang it on the wall, not long since when he was angry he dashed it across the room it was small but french thick glass, the glass was broken in bits not much larger than one's finger nails. I caught or tried to get the frame but he put it in the stove, thats the last of that, he tore and burned a pretty bound book one he gave me when I lived home Cambells Poems! Sometimes he'll take both candles that are burning throw them against the wall—sometimes he knocks me over a chair and all (but never hurts me) I never feel the least bit in the world hurt.

Yet, as Mrs. Molinoff points out in her brochure:

If Heyde "made heavy weather of living with Hannah," he often had ample cause—in forty years of married life Hannah never learned to cook, was known to her neighbors as a "shiftless" housekeeper, dressed carelessly and without style, liked to boast about family wealth which had no foundation in fact, and was ill for long periods at a time. The house was usually in confusion.

Speaking of the wife of Andrew, Walt's brother, Miss Winwar says that after her husband's death "Nancy's morale was broken in the struggle to keep body and soul together. She took what her world called the easiest way, and sent her children begging in the streets." Here again Miss Winwar's sympathetic temperament tricks her into wishful idealizing! She credits Nancy with a virtue that Nancy herself did not assume.

An examination of hundreds of letters of the Whitman family proves that Andrew was an habitual drunkard. He had married a woman who was distinctly beneath him. "Nance" was a dirty, jealous, grasping woman with the ways of a harlot, even before her husband's death. Mother Whitman had no love for her. Nevertheless, she supported her invalid son's family out of the money that Walt and George had given her and that she had saved up.

i have got 2 or 3 hundred dollars in the bank i get the same old retort that it was me was stingy with my bank book that is such a common thing to hear if i make any re-

mark that i would like to have anything why dont i get it with my bank book i told her the other day because i had 2 or 3 hundred dollars if i used it all i might go to the poor house sometimes i wish the bank book as they call it was in ginuea

Nancy expects her to pay the rent and buy food and medicine. Nancy goes about gossiping and leaves her children for grandma to take care of.

i dont know but i think she is about the laziest and dirtiest woman i ever want to see she is ugly as she is dirty i dont wonder he used to drink i cant begin to tell you walt it frets me very much she at home all day having a good time with the rent and all paid and mat and me dooing everything to make him comfortable i pity andrew very much

After Andrew's death mother Whitman writes the minute details:

mary came bringing georgie besmeared from head to foot nance went to bed when she came out in the morning she brought such a smell that jeffy got sick and had to come home

"Jesse had never been too strong in the intellect," says the author. The facts, as revealed in Whitman family letters, are even more sordid than Miss Winwar divined. Walt's mother wrote to him:

jessy is a very great trouble to me to be sure and dont appreciate what i doo for him but he is no more deranged than he has been for the last 3 years i think it would be very bad for him to be put in the lunatic assiliym i could not find it in my heart to put him there without i see something that would make it unsafe for me to have him he is very passionate almost to frenzy and always was but of course his brain is very weak and he aint very well he has such sick spells i think walt what a poor unfortunate creature he has been what a life he has lived that as long as i can get anything for him to eat i would rather work and take care of him that is as long as i see no danger of him

Walt's brother Jeff wrote more specifically, showing that Miss Winwar is not justified in assuming that Mother Whitman's "household ran with the smoothness of an oiled machine":

I notice that when Jess does eat with us that he does not throw up his victuals. I will bet that all they have for dinner will be a quart of tomatoes and a few cucumbers. And then mother wonders why Jess vomits up his meals. However, mother gets them just as good or better than she has herself. . . . To think that the wretch should go off and live with an Irish whore, get in the condition he is by her act and then come and be a source of shortening his mother's life by years. I feel a constant fear for mother . . . he calls her everything and even swears he will keel her over, etc. Ed I don't mind so much because he couldn't help being what he is—but Jess did to himself and made himself what he is—and I think is answerable for it.

Without offering any substantiation, Miss Winwar states about Whitman's tomb: "The building of his mausoleum cost much more than the 'little sum laid aside for burial money.' Indeed, he put into it thousands of dollars saved secretly for the purpose." The fact is that his lawyer-friend, Thomas B. Harned, himself paid the bulk of the cost of the tomb, but never let Walt know how much it was. Harned says in his unpublished memoirs:

Whitman has been criticized about the tomb. I knew some of the men interested in Harleigh Cemetery. They wanted to present Walt with a lot. I drove out with them,

and he selected the lot where the tomb was built. He said to me, "I guess I will go into the woods," meaning a new part then undeveloped. Some tomb-builders talked him into building a tomb. Walt was inexperienced and knew nothing of cost, and they gave him no estimate. He was trapped. They got fifteen hundred dollars out of him. They presented a bill for several thousand dollars, and Walt was terribly worried, and told me about the matter. I said, "Give me that bill," and I saw the builder and told him that he could take his tomb, as no such bill would be paid. I later adjusted the matter at a much less price. I told Walt not to "bother any more about it." He thanked me with tears in his eyes.

Some minor inadequacies may be noted, of which the following are representative. (1) In the Civil War period condensation is gained by giving generalizations of Walt's hospital friendship at the sacrifice of poignant details relating to individual cases that bring home the essence of his work among the soldiers. (2) Why is so much space taken up with conjectures about a hypothetical love affair in New Orleans, while little is said about the true meaning of Whitman's friendship with Anne Gilchrist? Burroughs, for instance, testified that, after associating with Anne Gilchrist, Whitman began "to take more care of his personal appearance and spruce up a bit." A well-rounded portrait should give adequate place to the mentally stimulating and refining influence of Walt's "science-friend," his "noblest woman-friend."

More general considerations that apply to the book as a whole may be lumped together as showing immaturity. An obvious lack of proficiency in technical matters could be remedied by this undoubtedly gifted writer. From the standpoint of pure biography writing, most distressing is her habit of anticipating future developments. It is one of the accepted principles of effective life-stories that at no time should the author jump ahead of the narrative to comment on what is to occur later. Yet she constantly does this, and even tells us what Whitman is to think later about a given topic. She does not hesitate to violate chronology by revealing unborn poems before they are even conceived. She uses with deadening effect the formula "little did he think or realize what lay ahead," or words to this effect. She has a trick of saying Whitman "must have thought," etc., and then inventing a whole stream of consciousness of her own imagining. Also, her clever device of putting forward in the form of a rhetorical question any idea that she cannot assert to be a fact is overworked until it amounts to a mannerism. Her punctuation is loose and confusing, especially in the inconsistent handling of appositives, interpolated or transposed sentence elements, and correlatives. It is impossible to discover what style-book, if any, is being followed.

A feature of the book most difficult to overlook is the inexcusable number of typographical errors. Names of historical figures are misspelled, and in one instance a proper name is spelled in two different ways on the same page. In some cases obvious slips that destroy the

meaning have been allowed to stand. This is particularly noticeable on the first page of the Foreword.

Miss Winwar's style is hard to evaluate. It is of the florid school, slightly antiquated at times, but pleasantly so. Literary allusions abound, sometimes effective, but more often strained. Trite quotations and clichés march across the page in surprising numbers, but somehow they do not disturb us. The same is true of the all-too-numerous figures of speech, especially extravagant metaphors, such as "the political hatchets sharpened on the already much-used whetstone of the Free Soil issue." Yet all these gaucheries, imbedded in the swift-moving prose of her best manner, coalesce somehow in the alchemy that is a secret of wizard Winwar.

Over against the deficiencies, which it is the purpose of this review to rectify, should be balanced certain excellences. Miss Winwar weaves the *Leaves of Grass* all through her story, intelligently, almost reverently—perhaps exaggerates its poetic value at times. Always she keeps showing us the actual basis of Walt Whitman's democracy—"the people, yes, the people!" Similarity of thought between Thoreau and Whitman, she explains convincingly, was due to their fundamental philosophy rather than to any direct influence of one upon the other. Transcendentalism, Quakerism, and phrenology in Whitman's thought are admirably set forth.

She does not succeed so well with Emerson, however. Discussing the moot question whether Whitman read Emerson before he published *Leaves of Grass*, Miss Winwar states that it was not until after the first edition of his poems in 1855 that "Emerson was much on his mind" and that he carried a volume of Emerson's essays in his lunch basket. She then cites J. T. Trowbridge as authority. Trowbridge says specifically: "Whitman . . . told how he became acquainted with Emerson's writings. . . . This was in 1854. . . . He lived at home . . . going off to his work in the morning and returning at night, carrying his dinner pail like any common laborer. Along with his pail, he usually carried a book. . . . Once the book chanced to be a volume of Emerson; and from that time he took with him no other writer." Yet the claim is made that Miss Winwar's book proves that Whitman "arrived at his daring thoughts independently of Emerson"!

There are frequent pictorial passages like pageants. Her description of burgeoning events around the forties is well done, her language simple and effective. There is nothing of "padding" in the historical background except some half-dozen pages of Chapter XIV devoted to random happenings, digressing from the main biography without contributing anything to the emerging Whitman. The marshaled facts in her rich tapestry background are not always verifiable. For instance, she says that



at the end of the Mexican War, 1847, "the United States, for paltry pecuniary indemnities, acquired the whole of Texas, New Mexico, and upper California." But the independent republic of Texas joined the United States in 1845; by the treaty with Mexico in 1847 the Rio Grande was made the southwestern boundary of the United States, and the Gila River the northern boundary of Mexico. The United States paid Mexico \$15,000,000 for the territory which was thus added to its domain, exclusive of Texas which had been a state of the Union since 1845! Again, on July 4, 1846, Walt's ode, we are told, was fitted "into the tune of the national anthem," "The Star-Spangled Banner." But that song was not made the national anthem until 1931.

Here is an amusing inaccuracy, involving geography, rather than history: speaking of the itinerary covered by Whitman on a steamboat from Wheeling to New Orleans, Miss Winwar pictures him stopping at Cairo, Illinois, then "a few more stops, at Cincinnati, at Louisville, and the *St. Cloud* rounding the last curve of the river, panted into the stone wharf at New Orleans!"

Although Miss Winwar may have aimed at producing the long-awaited definitive biography of Whitman, her *American Giant* would have appeared to better advantage if presented frankly as a timely treatment for today's audience. As the book stands, the author seems like a ringmaster who, while trying to ride two horses at once, is not able to mount either gracefully.

Yet in spite of all these shortcomings, the book breathes and moves. It is quickened through Miss Winwar's irrepressible kinetic imagination. Her creation springs from her own brain like Zeus's Athena endowed with magnetic vitality. Perhaps the easiest of all Whitman biographies to read, this would be a most useful book if it were as reliable as it is charming.

*New England Conservatory of Music.* CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS.

AMERICAN RENAISSANCE: *Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman.* By F. O. Matthiessen. New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. xxvi, 678 pp. \$5.00.

I have already reviewed Mr. Matthiessen's book elsewhere in general terms. I should like here to consider its importance as a contribution to American literary history and to the theory and technique of historical writing. Even though its method is nonchronological, *American Renaissance* seems to me to be an important piece of historical writing, and should influence our concepts of how the history of American literature might be rewritten.

First, what Mr. Matthiessen is not: He is not a passive, objective chronicler. Events pass before his review weighted by values and in interrelationships other than juxtaposition. He has conceived his problem as a whole, established his own attitude toward it, and exercised his critical judgment as well as his historical knowledge at every point in the selection and arrangement of material for discussion.

Second, he is not a social or intellectual historian in the strict uses of those terms. His interest in plan and pattern in the affairs of men is based on neither sociological nor philosophical grounds. The plane of his thought and writing is that of art and culture, and past movements in social and philosophical forces are reduced to a secondary plane to be treated, as they should be *fully* treated in literary history, as causal and consequential factors. There is not here the confusion between literary and other forms of history that one finds in those historians who evaluate literature in terms of its content of communism, agrarian democracy, Puritanism, materialistic determinism, or other borrowed ism. The central pole of reference is esthetic significance.

But he has not, on the other hand, reduced literature to pure expression by divorcing form from content and treating it in a vacuum, as belletristic critics did in an earlier day and the post-neohumanists sometimes attempt to do today. He revives from Coleridge and Emerson an organic theory of literary composition and, while keeping his emphasis upon expression, gives full and qualitative consideration to the thing expressed in its relationship to its form, developing a modern functionalism in literary criticism.

The key to his method is given in the opening sentence of his preface: "The starting point for this book was my realization of how great a number of our past masterpieces were produced in one concentrated moment of expression." This was the five years following 1850, the distillation point in our literary history for the expression of the first American man, i.e., the emotionally and intellectually mature product of the thirteen original colonies. His economic being was the result of an expanding agrarianism; his spiritual and intellectual being of the breakdown of Puritanism into cool Unitarianism and fervent Transcendentalism; his social and political being of his traditional devotion to the ideals and possibilities of democracy. Here are the three background books which Mr. Matthiessen was prepared to write, but he wrote none of them; his is a literary history. Adopting Ezra Pound's thesis that "the history of art is the history of masterwork, not of failures or mediocrity," he continues, "My aim has been to follow these books [the midnineteenth-century American masterworks] through their implications, to observe them as the culmination of their author's talents, to assess them in rela-

tionship to one another and to the drift of our literature since, and, so far as possible, to evaluate them in accordance with the enduring requirements for great art."

The statement of a theory of literary history is easier than its application to a specific problem. Mr. Matthiessen deals with his by four full-length studies of the work of Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, and Whitman, respectively. In the first, Emerson, with the assistance of Thoreau, states the metaphysical and ethical ideals of life in America, and the organic theory of its expression. In the second, Hawthorne, artist and skeptic, reveals the difficulties of the artist in this situation without resolving them. His acceptance of evil in the world, even though he could not envision an evil world, opened the paths of tragedy, escape and despair and so prepared for Melville, James, and Eliot. In the third, Melville confronts the dualism in life which Emerson sought to distil to a single essence and Hawthorne, in fright, to veil thinly. Art must accept the primitive depths of nature as well as the "refined ascent of the mind." In his acceptance of the whole of experience he recalls Shakespeare, as he does in his development of original comic and tragic art forms. But he is finally an "American Hamlet," his conflict, like Hawthorne's, unresolved. In the fourth, Whitman, at his best, succeeds in bridging the void by "making the specific richly symbolic of the universal." His confident vision "led him to fulfill the most naïve and therefore most natural kind of romanticism for America, the romanticism of the future." The relationship of this vision and its expression to later American poetry (e.g., E. A. Robinson and Sandburg) and painting (e.g., Eakins and Henri) is effectively noted.

The central question of the book is adequately answered; satisfactory explanations are given for the concentration of art expression in the middle years of the last century; even though at times condensation would make the reader's progress easier and the writer's points sharper. The larger framework of the book, which involves the seventeenth-century English metaphysical poets, Coleridge and European romanticism, passages from the history of American painting, and T. S. Eliot and the modern metaphysicians, serves its purpose of high-lighting the American romantic movement, but is in itself somewhat eclectic and fortuitous, the product rather of Mr. Matthiessen's own intellectual equipment than of inevitable and organic relationship to the main study.

These are necessary weaknesses of the method, as no critic can be omniscient. They can be accepted as long as the book is merely a critical analysis of one problem in a literary history rather than an attempt to deal with that history as a whole. But a modification of the method to make it more generally applicable may well serve as a substantial plat-

form for the reconsideration of the complete story of American letters. The emphasis upon masterworks as the primary material of literary history; the ability to remain on the plane of art and culture while giving full weight to the causal significance of social and intellectual forces; and the sense of pattern in past events provide an historical method for other special studies like this as well as for the more ambitious attack upon the whole problem, which must sooner or later be made.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

TURGENEV IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By Royal A. Gettman. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXVII, No. 2.) Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. 1941. 196 pp. \$2.00 cloth; \$1.50 paper.

Dr. Gettman's study of the rise and decline of interest in Ivan Turgenev's fiction in England and America is a worthy addition to the many excellent dissertations on fiction which, through the stimulation of Professor Ernest Bernbaum and others, have come over the years from the University of Illinois. (The works of A. J. Tiege, Joseph Bunn Heidler, and Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley are but three examples quickly recalled.)

First, it is well to mention that Turgenev's influence was greater in cosmopolitan America than in insular England, and that America's response to the Russian's technique is a major concern in any study of the history of American literary practice and criticism. Beginning in the 1860's, Turgenev's novels and stories, in translation, rose in the estimation of Americans for a quarter of a century, and culminated in the 1880's in the "craze" for Russian literature, which embraced the works of Tolstoy, Dostoevski, Gogol, Korolenko, and Pushkin. Tolstoy came to supersede Turgenev in popularity, but the technique of the latter has remained important.

T. S. Perry, W. D. Howells, G. P. Lathrop, and Henry James were among the early American critics who discerned Turgenev's "dramatic" technique which placed the author in the position of a playwright with relation to the story. Dr. Gettman has traced the criticism both in England and in America, but the American commentaries are, I think, the more important. Perry early remarked that the objective method, which admitted the author no "side views . . . denied the people in the story," was an invaluable aid to Realism. Howells, who has asserted that Perry drew him into Realism, was highly excited by the Turgenev method, which struck out the commentary of Thackeray and the "clumsy exegesis" of George Eliot. James not only learned much from Turgenev in matters of technique and characterization, but adopted the "dramatic" method

increasingly, and in his maturer years raised it, I believe, to its highest level.

Dr. Gettman's study discusses other matters also. He has described the materials and opinions in the novels of Turgenev and others, and has placed them against English and American political and social conditions which tended through the years to modify Turgenev's popularity in the two countries. He has well handled the whole problem.

There are eight pages of bibliography. The English (1854-1934) and American (1856-1936) listings are separated, and a further division separates Turgenev's fiction from the commentaries of critics. Both magazines and books are listed. In checking the American criticism, I note that Dr. Gettman has listed some important reviews but has not attempted to list all reviews. Among the omissions star-scattered before the turn of the century are the following: *Overland Monthly*, November, 1873, pages 485-486; *Nation*, March 27, 1873, page 221; *Literary World*, September 22, 1883, pages 304-305, and January 22, 1887, page 35; *Scribner's Monthly*, November, 1887, pages 136-137 (T. S. Perry); *Critic*, March 12, 1887, pages 123-124, June 9, 1894, page 393, December 8, 1894, pages 387-388, March 2 and 16, 1895, pages 155-156 and 204-205, June 22, 1895, page 456.

Western Reserve University.

LYON N. RICHARDSON.

BRET HARTE: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. By Joseph B. Harrison. New York: American Book Company. 1941. cxxviii, 416 pp. \$1.25.

Professor Harrison's selections are divided into five sections, viz., Essays and Reviews, Poems, Spanish Legends (prose), Condensed Novels, and Stories. The Poems are further divided into War Poems, Spanish Legends, Dialect Poems, and Miscellaneous. This is therefore the first anthology to give some idea of the full scope of Harte's work; we are offered something of everything except his single novel and his dramas, which could not be well shown in an anthology and are perhaps just as well forgotten anyway. Since no writer is equally good in all departments, the present anthology necessarily includes some second-rate material, but it is valuable for showing Harte's development and range. In one instance and doubtless others copyright difficulties led to the exclusion of certain pieces (see p. 401).

Within each department the selection is excellent. The stories are granted more than half the space, and proportion between early and later work is well observed. Particularly fortunate also is the inclusion of no less than five of the first series of *Condensed Novels*. Although

many of the poems included are of little importance poetically, they all have their historical and biographical value, and they are all brief. The same may be said for the essays and reviews; as Professor Harrison notes, Harte was a natural-born book reviewer, but hardly a critic.

An elaborate introduction (112 pages) includes a résumé of Harte's life, and what is the fullest scholarly and critical discussion of his writing yet to appear. In general it may be said that Professor Harrison is a defender both of Harte's work and of his character.

The most violent attack ever leveled against Harte's character was that of Mark Twain. He spoke the words after Harte was lying in his grave unable to reply. Moreover, with a touch of unconsciously malign genius, he arranged that his scandalous talk should not be published until after his own death, and so was able to talk quite irresponsibly, without fear of being taken to task by Harte's family and friends or summoned to prove any of his allegations. In addition, he cited no original documents and few places or dates, but confined himself to a kind of generalized billingsgate. Although Twain is known throughout the world for his deeply ingrained manner of exaggerated statement, Mr. Bernard DeVoto in editing the reminiscences apparently made no effort to sift truth from fiction except in one instance to introduce a note presenting Harte's case in even worse light—this in spite of the fact that at least one of Twain's worst specific charges (that Harte failed to send money to his family) is demonstrably false.

Professor Harrison has read *Mark Twain in Eruption* and adds a dry note: "For the elderly Mark Twain, Harte's personal shortcomings have obscured better remembrances" (p. cxxiv). Moreover, it is interesting to find that Professor Harrison, who has gone over most of the original sources upon Harte's life, does not in his estimation of character accept Mark Twain's irresponsible outbursts.

In connection with Harte's writing Professor Harrison also appears as a protagonist. In this instance the chief opponent (a much better-mannered one than Mark Twain) is Professor Lucy Lockwood Hazard. Against the adverse criticisms leveled at Harte's writings in her *Frontier in American Literature* Professor Harrison replies in general that she is attacking Harte upon realistic premises, whereas he is rightly to be judged upon romantic ones. This strategy may shift the battleground, but by no means routs the foe.

In the end Professor Harrison follows the lead of most previous defenders of Harte's writings. Like the Russians fleeing in the sleigh, he throws most of the children to the wolves, and escapes with a remnant: "His range was small, his heights and depths neither lofty nor profound, his mind not richly-stocked with intellectual goods. But he has not been

surpassed in what he did best" (p. cxii). This best is critically selected, and excellently put forward in the present volume.

*University of California.*

GEORGE R. STEWART.

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1740-1940. By Edward Potts Cheyney. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. x, 461 pp. \$4.00.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA TODAY: ITS BUILDINGS, DEPARTMENTS AND WORK. Edited by Cornell M. Dowlin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. vi, 209 pp. \$1.50.

PORTRAITS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by Agnes Addison. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. 67 pp. \$3.00.

At the end of its second century, the University of Pennsylvania paused to look back over its accomplishments and failures, and chose from its faculty a distinguished and impartial historian to write its record. The objectivity of that story makes the book inspiring because its tabulation of achievements is all the more convincing when set against a somewhat frightening record of blindness on the part of many who were presumably the enlightened minds of their day. The upward struggle of this great university has been harassed at every step by those who are anxious to stand in their own and in everyone else's light. The obstructionists have been limited to no one group: they are found among the Trustees, Faculty, and Administration alike, as well as in the community and the legislature. But the institution of the University has survived and become strong.

Part of the reason for this ironical situation is that Philadelphia was our first cultural capital as a free nation and its university early learned the habit of pioneering. In point of chronology, it was the first state university in spite of the fact that it is almost wholly a private institution today; and it stood first in many other advances. Apparently this pioneering was done without developing distinguished or farsighted leadership. Provosts like the first Smith, Stillé, and DeLancey were at the end defeated by the weight of reaction, but in each case their struggles pushed the University itself into new positions of priority. Without the blessing of harmony at any time in its history, it managed to be first in liberalized humanities, in medicine, in law, in dentistry, in business training, and in many other departments of learning. The tragedy is that its priority has seldom been consolidated into sustained supremacy. Mr. Cheyney gives many hints but no complete analysis of the causes of this failure unless it be the perversity of human nature itself.

Yet when we turn to Mr. Dowlin's account of the University of Pennsylvania today, we realize that in a democracy an institution may have a life and a destiny of its own quite apart from the hopes and jealousies of the individuals who compose it. His swift cross-section view shows a great and effective institution which can be appreciated only in the light of Mr. Cheyney's record of struggle. The two books, supplemented by the Bicentennial volume of portraits, are convincing documents in support of democracy. At the close of its second century, Pennsylvania may hold its head high as one of our leading institutions of learning and as a testimony to the concerted power of enlightened and free men in spite of their individual differences, fears, and weaknesses.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

REPUBLICAN LETTERS. By Samuel L. Clemens. Edited by Cyril Clemens. Webster Groves, Missouri: International Mark Twain Society. 1941. 51 pp.

This slender volume of fifty-one pages purports to offer a series of letters which Mark Twain published in the Chicago *Republican* during the spring of 1868, describing his trip to San Francisco and return for the purpose of regaining the copyright of the Quaker City letters from the *Alta California* for incorporation in the forthcoming book *Innocents Abroad*.

In only a very loose manner of speaking, however, may these letters be called *Republican* letters. It is obvious that Mr. Cyril Clemens did not get them out of the files of the Chicago *Republican*, as we are led to believe; he got them from some other newspaper (probably a San Francisco paper) which copied such portions of the *Republican* letters as might interest its readers. It is obvious, because in the spring of 1868 Mark Twain contributed six letters to the Chicago paper (February 8 and 19, March 1, May 19, May 31, and August 23); whereas Mr. Clemens presents what appear to be eight letters but what in fact are eight parts of only the last three letters in the *Republican* series. As a consequence of using a source other than the Chicago *Republican*, Mr. Clemens entirely overlooked Mark Twain's letters of February 8, February 19, and March 1. These letters, unrelated to matters of direct interest to the West, were probably not copied by the paper that Mr. Clemens consulted. Furthermore, the letters he offers are not complete. The chief fault, however, lies in the fact that the letters are not presented in proper sequence. The Hartford letter (p. 38), for example, should obviously conclude the series, since it reports incidents after Mark Twain's return home; yet two Western letters are placed after it.



A few matters of detail should be corrected. Mark Twain did not sail from New York "early in April" of 1868, as Mr. Clemens states (p. 5), but on March 11, as Mark Twain himself says in the opening paragraph of the May 19 letter to the *Chicago Republican*. The letter "My Trip on the Henry Chauncey" (p. 8), which Mr. Clemens dates April 9, should be dated May 19. No Mark Twain letter appeared in the April 9 issue of the *Chicago Republican*. *Edgar Wakeman* (p. 6) should read *Edward Wakeman*.

While Mark Twain's letters to the *Chicago Republican* have slender merit as travel correspondence and are inferior both in style and descriptive power to his other letters of the same period, it is important that they be preserved and made accessible to scholars. It is regrettable, therefore, that Mr. Clemens did not present them as originally published and thus make them serviceable.

*Iowa State College.*

FRED W. LORCH.

## BRIEF MENTION

DO THESE BONES LIVE. By Edward Dahlberg. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1941. 158 pp. \$3.00.

This is a book of anger and a book of dark faith; incidentally it is a comment on certain American writers both past and present. If it were also a book of humor, it might suggest Carlyle, Cervantes, Voltaire; lacking that astringent, it suggests D. H. Lawrence and Yvor Winters.

The faith, or rather the dark need for faith, that provides its motive power is expressed in the concluding sentence: "O, let man laugh the *gods* out of this world so that the heart can live in it!" With Lawrence, Dahlberg makes a mystic's attack upon past mysticisms; attempts to exorcise superstition by the superstition of the modern superman, the self-sufficient divine animal. With past and deadly mysteries, however, goes also the modern illusion of the state. The Hitler-myth is the greatest of all illusions; the Stalin-ikon the gravest of all graven images. Whitman failed in his vision because he conceived a communal, a cosmic man, out of his ego. Dahlberg's vision is more like Dostoevski's: it rescues Alyosha by the stench of Father Zossima's corpse.

With the validity or falsity of this attitude, we are not here concerned. In a flood of feeling derived from the Bible, Dante, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and Dostoevski on the one hand, and from dismay at the condition of the modern world on the other, Dahlberg challenges a few of the American literary great: Thoreau, Melville, Whitman, Poe, Emily Dickinson, and some moderns. One might easily guess at his diagnosis of the cause of our malady. His is the familiar charge of inhibition and sterility, and its cause the curse of Puritanism. This theory is not new and has elsewhere been more dispassionately and convincingly expounded. If anger and dismay alone could give a book validity, the jacket boast that "it shall find its place in the remembered works of man" might be believable.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

SECRET HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Carl Van Doren. New York: The Viking Press. 1941. xiv, 534 pp. \$3.75.

His story completely retold in Mr. Van Doren's sturdy and authoritative manner, Benedict Arnold emerges not as a deeper-dyed, but certainly as a more accomplished and more consistent villain than ever before. With access to a variety of manuscript sources, including the Arnold-André correspondence found in the British Headquarters file and

now preserved in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Mr. Van Doren has created an almost completely nonpartisan exposition of England's continued, and too often successful, attempts to purchase apostates among American revolutionary leaders. If against Arnold ("bold, crafty, unscrupulous, unrepentant: the Iago of traitors," p. v) he is too severe, Mr. Van Doren has done what former historians have not always been willing or able to do: he has presented the material complete, so that the reader may search out his own, though perhaps less well-reasoned, conclusions.

To the historian perhaps the most interesting pages in the volume are in the appendix, where Mr. Van Doren has printed a transcription of the Arnold-André correspondence, from May 10, 1779, to October 19, 1780, and of General Clinton's personal narrative of the events leading up to and following Arnold's treason. But of special interest to the student of the activities of literary men during the American Revolution are the letters to and from Joseph Stansbury and Jonathan Odell included in the Arnold-André correspondence. The evidence presented here of honest and efficient labor in the service of their king by the two loyalists in New York is a small but a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of their activities during this period. We are not surprised to learn that the Boston physician and minor poet Benjamin Church, "much drove for money" (p. 19), never quite knew his own vacillating mind, or that General Arnold, driven by (among other things which Mr. Van Doren makes abundantly clear) injuries to his pride, knew his only too spectacularly well. We are impressed by the unspectacular loyalty of Odell and Stansbury. Perhaps their stories may someday be completely told.

*Duke University.*

LEWIS LEARY.

THE RHETORIC OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. By Bower Aly. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. x, 213 pp. \$2.50.

Hamilton's power in persuasion was due in part to his own attractive characteristics of mind and personality, in part to his solid eighteenth-century training in Aristotle and Quintilian. Oratory to him, as to so many of his contemporaries (and to ours), was a social force. And measured against Aristotelian standards, Hamilton is presented as an almost unqualified oratorical success. His achievements suggest to Mr. Aly these "inevitable conclusions" (pp. 196-197): (1) that a future biographer must be able to understand Hamilton as a public speaker in the tradition of classical rhetoric; (2) that the historian of American oratory must "give ample room" to Hamilton; (3) that "critics of American life and literature should seek to discover ways in which the American genius has expressed itself in communicative language as well as in fantasy and

image, in rhetoric as well as in poetic"; and (4) that some future student may "rediscover" persuasion, even "discover a rhetorical theory of history at least as plausible as certain phases of the economic interpretation which seem to govern current historical thought." Mr. Aly, aided in his research by the Advanced School of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, has devoted almost two hundred pages to the proof of a series of propositions which few serious scholars will deny.

*Duke University.*

LEWIS LEARY.

IRVING BABBITT: *Man and Teacher*. Edited by Frederick Manchester and Odell Shepard. New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons. 1941. xiii, 337 pp.

Except for a preface and a brief biographical sketch by Mrs. Babbitt, this book consists entirely of twenty-nine impressions of Professor Babbitt by thirty people who knew him at different times with varying degrees of intimacy, from his freshman year at Harvard in 1886, when he was twenty-one, until his death in 1933. The plan involves some inevitable repetitions. There are somewhat too many personal descriptions and attempts to explain the famous Babbittian creed and manner. But even though there are several descriptions of his extraordinary style in tennis, the present reviewer (who has played tennis with him, and never without wondering what had become of the Inner Check) enjoyed them all.

Despite this trifling flaw of repetition, the book is a much more significant and worthy tribute than the usual *Festschrift* or memorial volume of scholarly studies that might have been a crowning indignity to such a career. No one who knew Professor Babbitt could fail to derive some fresh bits of knowledge from some of the reminiscences; and even a total stranger might find some of the anecdotes and conversations better than Boswellian. Most of the thirty witnesses have been well selected; some of them can admire a great and dominating personality with a discrimination that is superior to that of the Great Crusader himself in his more destructive moods. Some of the best passages are those informed with a lurking humorous appreciation that does no damage to a justifiable conviction that Professor Babbitt is one of the greatest figures in the history of American education and criticism.

*Duke University.*

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW AND MONTECASSINO. By Sabatino Iannetta. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. 1940. 136 pp. \$1.00.

This is a labor of love by a Rhode Island priest, who passed twenty-five years as boy and young man in the famous Benedictine monastery

of Montecassino, visited by Longfellow in 1869, a visit which inspired his poem of that title written in 1874. The visit and the circumstances surrounding the writing of the poem are fully set forth by Father Iannetta, and the poem, an Italian translation, and a most useful full annotation are given. An appendix restates a quite different subject, the Longfellow-Greene friendship. The author's background should excuse his loving enthusiasm for what is surely one of Longfellow's less inspired efforts; however, he is in good company, for an existing Longfellow letter mentions the poem's "felicitous termination," although Longfellow, the narrator, awakens twice in the last four stanzas.

As so often with a labor of love, the book is full of minor inaccuracies. Mr. H. W. L. Dana will be surprised to learn that he is the poet's nephew, and that his grandfather was one of only six children. Neither the Samuel Longfellow *Life* nor Thompson's *Young Longfellow* is mentioned in the bibliography; a glance at either would have shown that Longfellow did not leave Europe in 1836 for the reasons here stated. More important, the sixteenth stanza of the poem is misquoted, and its title is printed throughout as one word, not two as Longfellow used. The date of composition is dwelt on with some detail as October 30, 1874; this information comes solely from a letter quoted in *Final Memorials* (p. 219), where the date is printed as October 29.

New York City.

CARROLL A. WILSON.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON'S READING: *A Guide for Source-Hunters and Scholars to the One Thousand Volumes which He Withdrew from Libraries. Together with Some Unpublished Letters and a list of Emerson's contemporaries (1827-1850)—many prominent in American literature and in Transcendentalism—whose book borrowings are inscribed in the charging records of the Boston Athenæum; also other Emerson materials and an introduction describing bibliographical resources in New England.* By Kenneth Walter Cameron. Raleigh, N. C.: The Thistle Press, 1941. 144 pp. \$3.50.

While Mr. Cameron's work is not meant to take the place of such an essay on Emerson's reading as Professor Rusk has supplied in the introduction to his edition of the letters, it is helpful to those who wish to check the records of Emerson's borrowings from the libraries. All the pertinent material is supplied and the indexes are thoughtfully arranged. Two Emerson letters reproduced are notes of minor consequence.

C. G.

GOLDEN YESTERDAYS. By Margaret Deland. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. [1941.] 351 pp. \$3.00.

An autobiography filled with pleasant anecdotes and very little information of a literary sort.

C. G.

WEST VIRGINIA: *A Guide to the Mountain State*. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of West Virginia. American Guide Series. New York: Oxford University Press. [1941.] xxxi, 559 pp. \$2.75.

In the introductory matter there are discussions of the newspapers, folklore, and the arts as they have flourished in West Virginia. The series represented by the present volume is, of course, the noblest monument to the exercises of the W.P.A. so far as they have been intellectual.

C. G.

ITALIAN OPINION ON AMERICA AS REVEALED BY ITALIAN TRAVELERS, 1850-1900. By Andrew J. Torrielli. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1941. vi, 330 pp. \$3.50.

Contains chapters on the press and the arts in America. There are a few references to Emerson, Longfellow, and Lowell, but the opinions expressed concerning our literature in general seem to have been few and not enchanted by distance. One is somewhat surprised at the small number of the Italian travelers upon whose accounts Mr. Torrielli has relied.

C. G.

HUMANISTIC STUDIES IN HONOR OF JOHN CALVIN METCALF. (University of Virginia Studies, Volume One.) Charlottesville, Virginia: Publications Committee, University of Virginia, care of Extension Division. 1941. x, 338 pp. \$3.00.

Of the nineteen miscellaneous essays in this dignified *Festschrift* volume, the following may have some interest for readers of this journal: Atcheson L. Hench's "The Survival of 'Start-Naked' in the South," Archibald A. Hill's "Incorporation as a Type of Language Structure," Archibald B. Shepperson's "Thomas Jefferson Visits England and Buys a Harpsichord," William S. Weedon's "Concerning Biography," Francis Duke's "'Long I' in Richmond Speech," and John Cook Wyllie's "A List of the Texts of Poe's Tales."

D. K. J.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CHECKLIST OF THE WRITINGS OF THE POET CHARLES WEST THOMSON. Compiled by Charles F. Heartman. [Heartman's Historical Series, No. 60.] Hattiesburg, Mississippi: The Book Farm. 1941. 15 pp. \$0.60.

Most of the few who use this bibliography of Charles West Thomson (1798-1879), a minor Philadelphia poet, will probably wish that Mr. Heartman had identified Thomson's contributions to periodicals and given the names of his correspondents. Mr. Heartman might have mentioned Professor T. O. Mabbott's article, "An Unpublished Letter to Poe" (*Notes and Queries*, CLXXIV, 385, May 28, 1938), in which a letter dated May 1, 1841, from Thomson to E. A. Poe is printed.

D. K. J.

PRINTING AND PROGRESS: *Two Lectures*. By Archer Taylor and Gustave O. Arlt. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. 67 pp. \$1.50.

Professor Taylor's "The Influence of Printing, 1450-1650" and Professor Arlt's "Printing and the Democratic Movement in the Western World" are "two lectures from a series given at the University of California, Berkeley, in October, 1940, in honor of the 500th anniversary of the beginnings of printing in the Western world" (Samuel T. Farquhar's Prefatory Note).

D. K. J.

THE CONCISE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. By George Sampson. Cambridge, England: At the University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1941. xvi, 1094 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Sampson has so skillfully condensed the matter of the fourteen volumes of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* into one that his epitome reads like an original work. In his estimates of authors he has tried to give "the general consensus of opinion." Now and then, however, he is very dogmatic in his pronouncements, and sometimes, as in the brief discussion of Stevenson, he fails to do justice to an important writer. His treatment of contemporary literature in a supplementary chapter is excellent. American literature of course does not come within the field covered by the *CHEL* except incidentally, but Mr. Sampson's treatment of Henry James and T. S. Eliot would be better if he had made a study of the American background. "Sam Slick" (p. 917) is wrongfully credited with being the first of American humorists. The Imagist poets are given a single brief paragraph in which Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, and "H. D." are referred to merely as "some trans-

atlantic writers" (p. 1028) and the name of T. S. Eliot appears in place of that of D. H. Lawrence. In the main, however, the book is a noteworthy achievement.

THE HILLS BEYOND. By Thomas Wolfe. With a Note on Thomas Wolfe by Edward C. Aswell. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. [1941.] viii, 386 pp. \$2.50.

This volume contains a story, "The Hills Beyond," in ten chapters and ten shorter pieces hitherto uncollected. In his long Note (pp. 351-386) Mr. Aswell states that in later years Wolfe was "a tireless reviser and rewriter." He also undertakes to modify the common notion of Wolfe as an "autobiographical writer." He prints a portion of a letter which Wolfe wrote to his mother in April, 1923, when he was still trying to write plays. "Except for this miscalculation about the medium he would use," writes Mr. Aswell, "his letter was such an exact prophecy of his later achievement that it must rank among the great documents of literary history" (p. 366).

PIERRE OR THE AMBIGUITIES. By Herman Melville. Edited by Robert S. Forsythe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. xxxviii, 416 pp. \$2.00.

The late Dr. Forsythe's edition of *Pierre* is an admirable piece of work. The basis of the text is the first edition of the novel published by Harper and Brothers in 1852, and all the textual emendations are carefully noted. The long Introduction gives a rational appraisal of *Pierre*, which Dr. Forsythe regarded as a not entirely successful experiment in the problem novel. He sees "no reason for thinking that in 1851 and 1852 Melville was other than an energetic, enthusiastic, courageous, thoughtful man, mentally sound and healthy, with an intense hatred of ignoble convention and cowardly evasion" (p. x).

CONFEDERATE BELLES-LETTRES: *A Bibliography and a Finding List of Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Songsters, and Miscellaneous Literature Published in the Confederate States of America*. [Heartman's Historical Series, No. 56.] By Richard Barksdale Harwell. Foreword by Robert H. Woody. Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm. 1941. 79 pp. No price indicated.

This carefully compiled bibliography, the first of its kind, will greatly facilitate the study of an interesting episode in our literary history. Mr. Harwell does not include newspaper and magazine publications, but he lists 105 titles of separate publications and 23 additional ones which may have been published. The only book which the present reviewer failed to find listed is D. F. Jamison's *The Life and Times of Bertrand du Guesclin* (Charleston, 1864).



NORTH CAROLINA POETRY. Edited by Richard Gaither Walser. Richmond: Garrett and Massie Incorporated. [1941.] xxiv, 196 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Walser's anthology is superior to the three earlier collections, now all out of print. The selections are well chosen and the biographical sketches are informative. Although nearly half the book deals with twentieth-century writers, the editor has made room for three earlier writers not represented in previous anthologies: Thomas Godfrey, Thomas Burke, and the Negro poet George Moses Horton. Mr. Walser is mistaken in supposing (p. xvii) that all of Godfrey's poems were written in North Carolina.

BLISS CARMAN: *Bibliography Letters: Fugitive Verses and Other Data*. By William Inglis Morse. [Illustrated.] Windham, Conn.: Hawthorn House. 1941. 86 pp. No price indicated.

Mr. Morse's Introduction is in part based upon his own acquaintance with the poet, and his Bibliography is chiefly based upon his own collection of Carman materials. The fugitive verses are chiefly occasional in nature and will add little to the poet's stature. One of the letters which is given only in part (p. 52) contains an important statement of Carman's theory of the function of poetry.

BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS, 1790-1865: *A Study in Acculturation*. By Oscar Handlin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. xviii, 287 pp. \$3.25.

Dr. Handlin's study deals with Bostonians who are generally ignored in our literary histories and who were almost ignored by the writers of the New England Renaissance. Emerson once suggested (p. 217) that the immigrants to the United States might "construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature," but, like his contemporaries, he had little to say of the Irish; and the Irish Catholics rejected Emersonian teachings (p. 147). The homogeneity of the Boston of 1790 gradually broke down, and this is probably one reason why the Renaissance so quickly gave way to something much more commonplace. This is a book with implications for the student of literature.

LANGUAGE IN ACTION. By S. I. Hayakawa. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1941.] x, 245 pp. \$2.00.

An admirable popular presentation of semantics.

THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Lucy Lockwood Hazard. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1941. xx, 308 pp. \$2.75.

A reissue of a book, originally published in 1927, which has been out of print for several years.

THE HEART OF MARYLAND & OTHER PLAYS. By David Belasco. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Glenn Hughes and George Savage. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. xii, 319 pp. \$5.00.

Besides the play which gives the book its title, Volume XVIII of "America's Lost Plays" contains *La Belle Russe*, *The Stranglers of Paris*, *The Girl I Left behind Me*, and *Naughty Anthony*.

VASHINGTON OU LA LIBERTÉ DU NOUVEAU MONDE: *Tragédie en quatre actes*. Par Billardon de Sauvigny. Editée avec une introduction et des notes par Gilbert Chinard avec l'assistance de H. M. Barnes, Jr., J.-Jacques Demorest, R. K. Kellenberger, & E. E. E. Sarot. [Illustrated.] Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. xlii, 75 pp. \$3.50.

An exceptionally well-prepared edition of a French play dealing with the American Revolution which was first produced in 1791.

AMERICAN MOTTOES AND SLOGANS. By George Earlie Shankle. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1941. 183 pp. \$1.75.

". . . contains historical data on almost three hundred mottoes and slogans, tracing out the origin and the significance of each whenever it was possible to obtain such information" (Introduction).

COLLECTED SONNETS OF EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. 1941. xviii, 161 pp. Cloth, \$3.00; Leather, \$5.00.

In a Foreword Miss Millay explains that she has omitted from this collection "several pieces in sonnet form which were not designed to be read as separate sonnets, and which apart from their context would not be fully understood." She includes two sonnets, both published in magazines, which through oversight were not included in any of her earlier volumes.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1940-41, [OF] THE HAYES MEMORIAL LIBRARY: *With Abstracts of Dissertations Relating to American History, 1865-1900*. [Fremont, Ohio]: The Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Foundation. 1941. 56 pp.

"The publication of these abstracts should be regarded as an experiment. . . . This presentation is a panorama of dissertation work for 1941 in the social studies, literature, philosophy, religion or any branch contributing to an understanding of American life from 1865 to 1900" (p. 20). The editor states that he had great difficulty in obtaining the

abstracts. A dozen or more doctors were not willing to have abstracts printed. Among those printed ten or eleven are directly concerned with literature. We hope the experiment will be continued.

A CHAT WITH ROBERT FROST. By Cyril Clemens. With a Foreword by Hamlin Garland. Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society. 1940. \$1.00.

This is a record of an interesting informal conversation between Mr. Clemens and the poet in March, 1937, when Mr. Frost received the Mark Twain Medal.

THE BOOKMAN'S MANUAL: *A Guide to Literature*. By Bessie Graham. Fifth Edition Revised and Enlarged. New York: R. R. Bowker Co. 1941. x, 829 pp. \$5.00.

This book, first published in 1921, is intended primarily for booksellers and librarians, but it contains much material of equal importance to students of English and American literature.

WRITING DOCUMENTED PAPERS. By George Shelton Hubbell. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. [1941.] xii, 164 pp. \$75.

An excellent guide for undergraduates.

A GLOSSARY OF LITERARY TERMS. By Dan S. Norton and Peters Rushton. New York: Farrar & Rinehart Incorporated. [1941.] 89 pp. \$60.

A useful manual for undergraduates.

AMERICAN MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY: *For the History of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Compiled by Norma B. Cuthbert. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library. 1941. viii, 93 pp.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SEPARATE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1806-1870. [Heartman's Historical Series, No. 58.] By Oscar Wegelin. Third Edition, Revised. Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm. 1941. No price indicated.

This useful bibliography might have been made more nearly complete had the editor consulted an item which he failed to include: Mr. A. S. Salley's edition of the *Sack and Destruction of the City of Columbia, S. C.*, published by the Oglethorpe University Press in 1937. Mr. Wegelin's last item (No. 87) should no longer be attributed to Simms. It is: "A / PILGRIMAGE TO SALEM / in 1838 / By a Southern Admirer of / Nathaniel Hawthorne / Reprinted from "*The Southern Rose*" (Charleston, S. C.) / of March 2 and 16, 1839, with a *Foreword* by

Victor / Hugo Paltsits, *Another View* by John Robinson and / *A Rejoinder* by Mr. Paltsits. / Salem: / Newcomb & Grauss, *Printers* / 1916." This essay was written by Samuel Gilman, who reprinted it in his *Contributions to Literature* (Boston, 1856) under the title "A Day of Disappointment in Salem."

LINCOLN AND BYRON: *Lovers of Liberty*. By David J. Harkness. Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial University Department of Lincolniana. 1941. 14 pp.

The first in a "proposed series of monographs dealing with the literary interests of Abraham Lincoln" (Foreword).

SONGS OF THE MICHIGAN LUMBERJACKS. By Earl Clifton Beck. [Illustrated.] Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1941. xii, 296 pp. \$3.00.

"The present collection is not designed as a scholarly investigation of the balladry of the Michigan north woods. There is no attempt to present the literary history of the material nor to trace borrowings from, or elaborate analogies with, other ballads. The aim is, rather, simply to preserve here, as one species of Americana, the folk songs of the Michigan lumberjack, either as original commentaries on a rapidly disappearing mode of life or as restatements of ancient themes in versions peculiar to the woodsmen" (Introduction, p. 7).

SOUTH CAROLINA FOLK TALES: *Stories of Animals and Supernatural Beings*. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of The Work Projects Administration in the State of South Carolina. [*Bulletin of University of South Carolina*, October, 1941.]

"This collection of folk tales was selected from several thousand manuscripts assembled by workers of the South Carolina Writers' Project between 1935 and 1941. The attempt was made to secure accounts in the language of the raconteur, as nearly verbatim as possible. . . . A large part of the collection was secured from Negroes on the coast and barrier islands of the State" (Preface).

J. B. H.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the March, 1942, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

[BARLOW, JOEL] Wecter, Dixon. "Joel Barlow and the Sugar Beets." *Colorado Mag.*, XVIII, 179-181 (Sept., 1941).

A letter to Dolly Madison about beets, and also European affairs.

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Johnston, Rebecca (ed.). "William Byrd Title Book." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLIX, 174-180, 269-278 (Apr., July, 1941). To be continued.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Baldwin, Ada Harriet. "His Mother's Kindred." *Americana*, XXXV, 276-318, 497-551 (Apr., July, 1941).

Parts II and III of four parts.

Thaler, Alwin. "Franklin and Fulke Greville." *PMLA*, LVI, 1059-1064 (Dec., 1941).

"A Dialogue between Philocles and Horatio" appropriates "literally the thought and the words of the famous 'Chorus Sacerdotum'" in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*, but Franklin may have borrowed it second-hand through the *Works of Dr. John Tillotson*.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Leary, Lewis. "Philip Freneau in Charleston." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLII, 89-98 (July, 1941).

A check-list, with an introduction, of the contributions of Freneau to the newspapers of Charleston between 1785 and 1806. "The newspapers of Charleston from 1786 to 1790 contain the first printings of his most important poems of that period."

- [PENN, WILLIAM] Wright, Luella M. "William Penn and the Royal Society." *Bul. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, XXX, 8-10 (Spring, 1941).

Admitted to Fellowship, November 9, 1681.

II. 1800-1870

- [BROWNSON, ORESTES] Parsons, Wilfred, S. J. "Brownson, Hecker and Hewit." *Catholic World*, CLIII, 396-408 (July, 1941).

A reply to strictures on Father Hecker and Father Hewit by Doran Whalen in her biography of Brownson, *Granite for God's House*, in which she charges that the two reverend fathers supervised Brownson too much, and revised his articles without justification.

- [COOKE, J. E.] Hubbell, Jay B. "The War Diary of John Esten Cooke." *Jour. of So. Hist.*, VII, 526-540 (Nov., 1941).

Sketches from four notebooks in the Duke University Library, with editorial comments.

- [COOPER, J. F.] Kouwenhoven, John A. "Cooper and the American Copyright Club: An Unpublished Letter." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 265 (Nov., 1941).

A letter (in the Duyckinck collection of the New York Public Library) addressed to Cornelius Matthews as Secretary of the Copyright Club, 1843, explaining his opinion about copyright and reasons for not joining the Club.

- [FULLER, MARGARET] Stern, Madeleine B. "Margaret Fuller's Summer in the West (1843)." *Mich. Hist. Mag.*, XXV, 300-330 (Autumn, 1941).

An account of her travels, opinions, and personal reactions.

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Rahv, Philip. "The Dark Lady of Salem." *Partisan Rev.*, VIII, 362-381 (Sept.-Oct., 1941).

The study of the "dark lady under four different names," Beatrice, Hester, Zenobia, and Miriam, shows that Hawthorne had "no genuine passion nor a revival of dogma but a fear of life induced by narrow circumstances and morbid memories of the past."

- Waples, Dorothy. "Suggestions for Interpreting *The Marble Faun*." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 224-239 (Nov., 1941).

An explanation of five Freudian ideas similar to Hawthorne's ideas as revealed in *The Marble Faun*: "timelessness as a characteristic of the unconscious; the connection between myth or symbol and the unconscious; repetition-compulsion; the existence of a death instinct; the contest for the soul between life and death."

- [LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Arndt, K. J., and Groen, H. See below, *s.v.* SEALSFIELD.

- [LOWELL, J. R.] White, William. "Two Versions of Lowell's 'Function of the Poet.'" *Phil. Quar.*, XX, 587-596 (Oct., 1941).

Changes in the manuscript over a number of years indicate a change in "Lowell's outlook upon science and upon nationalism"—a "calmer evaluation of the devastating effect of the new science upon the old humanities" and "a more humanistic view than nationalism permits of."

- [POE, E. A.] Bailey, J. O. "Poe's 'Stonehenge.'" *Studies in Phil.*, XXXVIII, 645-651 (Oct., 1941).

Poe's essay, published in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* (June, 1840), was drawn almost verbatim from Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, Volume XXXV.

- Hubbell, Jay B. "Poe's Mother: With a Note on John Allan." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XXI, 250-254 (July, 1941).

An excerpt from one letter mentions charity shown to Poe's mother; John Allan's character is briefly appraised in an excerpt from another.

- Lafleur, Laurence J. "Edgar Allan Poe as Philosopher." *Personalist*, XXII, 401-405 (Oct., 1941).

An exposition of *Eureka*.

- Pittman, Diana. "Key to the Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe." *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 418-424 (Sept., 1941).

Continued from the August issue. The relationship of some of Poe's writings to those of James Hogg.

- . "Key to the Mystery of 'Ulalume.'" *So. Lit. Mes.*, III, 371-377 (Aug., 1941).

Poe's knowledge of British church intrigue and parliamentary reforms of the thirties.

- Shockley, Martin Staples. "*Timour the Tartar* and Poe's *Tamerlane*." *PMLA*, LIV, 1103-1106 (Dec., 1941).

"The general resemblance of *Tamerlane* to *Timour the Tartar* [presented at the Richmond Theatre three times in 1822] indicates . . . that Poe probably based *Tamerlane* upon his memory of a play which he had seen or a story which he had heard, rather than upon a direct use of a printed source."

- [SEALSFIELD, CHARLES] Arndt, K. J., and Groen, H. "Sealsfield—The 'Greatest American Author.'" *Amer.-German Rev.*, VII, 12-15 (June, 1941).

The authors indicate the influence of Sealsfield's *Life in the New World* on Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

- [WHITE, J. B.] Weidner, Paul R. (ed.). "The Journal of John Blake White." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLII, 55-71 (Apr.-July, 1941).

Begins publication of a journal which the Charleston, South Carolina, artist and writer started in 1800.

- [WHITTIER, J. G.] Hawley, Charles Arthur. "Whittier and Nebraska." *Bul. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, XXX, 17-43 (Spring, 1941).

A history of the regional interest in his poetry and in his opposition to slavery.

### III. 1870-1900

- [BEADLE, ERASTUS] Lutes, Della T. "Erastus F. Beadle, Dime Novel King." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXII, 147-157 (Apr., 1941).

Biographical sketch stressing Beadle's activity as publisher of a nationally popular series of dime novels from 1858 to 1881.

- [BROWNE, J. R.] Johansen, Dorothy O. "J. Rees Browne." *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, XXXII, 385-401 (Oct., 1941).

Reviews the career of a minor literary figure, a writer of "popular tales, of witty essays on remote scenes and ways of life," who was incidentally a crusader and social critic.

- [CLEMENS, S. L.] Blearsides, Oliver. "Mark Twain's Characters Come from Real People." *Mark Twain Quar.*, IV, 16-19 (Summer-Fall, 1941).

Sources in life of Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, Injun Joe, Captain Stormfield, Becky Thatcher, and Joan of Arc.

- Clemens, Cyril. "Unpublished Recollections of Original Becky Thatcher." *Mark Twain Quar.*, IV, 20, 23 (Summer-Fall, 1941).

An interview with Mark Twain's childhood sweetheart.

- Slade, William G. "Mark Twain's Educational Views." *Mark Twain Quar.*, IV, 5-10 (Summer-Fall, 1941).

"In summary, it may be said that Mark Twain was very much interested in education and had definite ideas on the subject."

- Stewart, George R. "Bret Harte upon Mark Twain in 1866." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 263-264 (Nov., 1941).

Harte's criticism, which appeared in the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Daily Republican*, November 10, 1866, "points out qualities of Twain's mind which were not generally recognized until years later."

- Wecter, Dixon. "Mark Twain as Translator from the German." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 257-264 (Nov., 1941).

Although Mark Twain's use of German was more fluent than accurate, his attempt to turn the jingles of Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* into English is spirited and is stamped with the humorist's individuality.



[HARTE, BRET] Stewart, G. R. See above, *s.v.* CLEMENS.

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Kazin, Alfred. "Howells: A Late Portrait." *Antioch Rev.*, I, 216-233 (Summer, 1941).

What Howells gained and missed in his career devoted to realism in literature.

[JACKSON, HELEN HUNT] Nevins, Allan. "Helen Hunt Jackson, Sentimentalist vs. Realist." *Amer. Scholar*, X, 269-285 (Summer, 1941).

An analysis of *Ramona* against its historical and biographical background and an interpretation of its propagandistic significance as a mold of public sentiment leading to social reform by realistic statesmen.

[JAMES, HENRY] Pacey, W. C. D. "Henry James and His French Contemporaries." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 240-256 (Nov., 1941).

From French novelists James derived "a lasting interest . . . in techniques designed to give centrality of focus and unity of effect; he learnt . . . that plot is relatively unimportant, and that the artist should, as far as possible, exclude himself from his art. But he differed from them all in his greater interest in the mind and soul of the individual."

[WALLACE, LEWIS] McKee, Irving. "The Early Life of Lew Wallace." *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, XXXVII, 205-216 (Sept., 1941).

Incidents which influenced Wallace's fiction.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Falk, Robert P. "Walt Whitman and German Thought." *Jour. of Eng. and Germanic Phil.*, XL, 315-330 (July, 1941).

Hegel, other German metaphysicians, Goethe, Zschokke, and Heine were influential in helping Whitman "to sing the glories of Democracy in the Western World."

Hubsch, Robert R. "Walt Whitman in Kansas." *Kan. Hist. Quar.*, X, 150-155 (May, 1941).

An account of the visit the poet made to Lawrence, Kansas City, Atchison, and other points in Kansas.

#### IV. 1900-1942

[BABBITT, IRVING] Blackmur, R. P. "Humanism and Symbolic Imagination: Notes on Rereading Irving Babbitt." *Southern Rev.*, VII, 309-325 (Autumn, 1941).

Irving Babbitt's "formula was hidden, by his own insistence and help, in the very superior, quite aristocratic cloak of Humanism."

[DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Rugoff, Milton. "Dos Passos, Novelist of Our Time." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 453-468 (Oct.-Dec., 1941).

Critical examination of the novels, plays, and travel diaries of "a thoughtful artist who has tried to reproduce American life on as broad a scale as any novelist of our time."

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Beck, Warren. "Faulkner and the South." *Antioch Rev.*, I, 82-94 (Spring, 1941).

Faulkner's novels have a "wide base in Southern history and present-day society, and the author's profoundly philosophical interpretation of that history and society has not been appreciated."

[FROST, ROBERT] Waggoner, Hyatt Howe. "The Humanistic Idealism of Robert Frost." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 207-223 (Nov., 1941).

Frost "finds support for his idealism" in "Emerson and James and his own experience." His "realism rests on a foundation of faith in man and in life" which may "best be described by the words *democratic*, *humanistic*, and *mystical*."

[GARLAND, HAMLIN] Simpson, Claude. "Hamlin Garland's Decline." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 223-234 (Jan., 1941).

Unfortunately, Garland associated realism inseparably with reform; when he turned his back on one, he retreated from the other. The bulk of his later work came straight out of the sentimental-novel tradition. The young radical had become the old conservative.

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Geismar, Maxwell. "No Man Alone Now." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XVII, 517-534 (Sept., 1941).

The transformation of the social rebel to a writer who "will henceforth deal with the crucial aspects of the contemporary world he has so often . . . negated."

Sickels, Eleanor M. "Farewell to Cynicism." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 31-38 (Oct., 1941).

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Watts, Harold H. "Multivalence in Robinson Jeffers." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 109-120 (Nov., 1941).

To arrive at a correct estimate of his use of violence, one must remember that his is a world composed of several planes—the human level, the level of passive nonhumanity, and the level of active union with God.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Hogan, Charles Beecher. "Edwin Arlington Robinson: New Bibliographical Notes." *Papers Bibliographical Soc. of Amer.*, XXXV, 115-144 (1941).

Additions to the bibliography of Robinson published four years ago.

Weber, Carl J. "Three Newly Discovered Articles by Edwin Arlington Robinson." *Colby Mercury*, VII, 69-72 (Dec., 1941).

"The Next Great Poet," "Incompetent and Capable Novelists," and "Commercial Potency and Literary Significance."

[ROURKE, CONSTANCE] Marshall, Margaret. "Constance Rourke: Artist and Citizen." *Nation*, CLVII, 726-728 (June 21, 1941).

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Carpenter, Frederic I. "John Steinbeck: American Dreamer." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 454-467 (July, 1941).

Despite the apparent variety and experimentation of Steinbeck's eight volumes of fiction, a single idea has directed his experimentation and guided his literary thought. His fiction has always described the interplay of dream and reality; his thought has followed the development of the American Dream.

[WILSON, EDMUND] Brown, E. K. "The Method of Edmund Wilson." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, XI, 105-111 (Oct., 1941).

An inquiry into "the sources of Edmund Wilson's power as a critic," based on consideration of his five critical volumes to date.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Cowley, Malcolm. "Wolfe and the Lost People." *New Republic*, CV, 592-594 (Nov. 3, 1941).

The "self-centeredness" of Wolfe and the "lost generation" of writers depleted their granary of literary impressions. This "comes close to being the problem of American writers in general."

#### V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Heflin, Woodford A., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., and Treviño, S. N. (comps.). "Bibliography." *Amer. Speech.*, XVI, 301-305 (Dec., 1941).

Annotated bibliography of books, articles, and pamphlets on Present-Day English, General and Historical Studies, and Phonetics.

#### VI. GENERAL

Baker, Howard. "An Essay on Fiction with Examples." *So. Rev.*, VII, 385-406 (Autumn, 1941).

Beach, Joseph Warren. "American Letters Between Wars." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 1-12 (Oct., 1941).

Because they dispensed with the rhetoric and "values" of older writers, Eliot, Hemingway, Farrell, Wolfe, Faulkner, Dos Passos, and Steinbeck have been hastily judged by critics as bleak, chilling, cynical, and irresponsible.

Clark, Harry Hayden. "Literary Criticism in the North American Review 1815-1835." *Trans. Wis. Acad. Sciences, Arts and Letters*, XXXII, 299-350 (1940).

Summaries of 231 critical reviews, which are of service in studying "aspects of the romantic point of view" and "the question whether American literature ought to be distinctively 'national' or 'universal' in appeal."

Coad, Oral Sumner. "The First Century of the New Brunswick [N. J.] Stage." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, V, 15-36 (Dec., 1941).

Part I. From the Revolution to the Civil War. A record of stage productions and other dramatic amusements.

Dorson, Richard M. "Moses Coit Tyler: Historian of the American Genesis." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 416-427 (July, 1941).

Reasons why Tyler's four-volume history of colonial literature stands as the single landmark of high achievement among nineteenth-century histories of American literature.

Glicksberg, Charles I. "The Decline of Literary Marxism." *Antioch Rev.*, I, 452-462 (Winter, 1941).

Herron, Ima Honaker. "The Blight of Romanticism." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 449-453 (July, 1941).

A comment upon Theodore Hornberger's "Three Self-Conscious Wests" (see below), suggesting that Western regionalists were chiefly romantic because they were blinded to the economic and social facts by the apparently inexhaustible romantic materials of the early West.

Hofstadter, Richard. "Parrington and the Jeffersonian Tradition." *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas*, II, 391-400 (Oct., 1941).

Takes issue with Parrington's "conception of the pattern of American economic thought."

Hornberger, Theodore. "Three Self-Conscious Wests." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 428-448 (July, 1941).

An examination of three literary movements—in Cincinnati around 1830; in San Francisco in 1868; and in Chicago more or less simultaneously with the World's Fair of 1893—throws additional light on the origins, pattern of development, and peculiar problems of regional literary movements.

Jones, Howard Mumford. "American Literature and the Melting Pot." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 329-346 (Apr., 1941).

Only recently has American literature become a truly national literature reflecting more faithfully than ever before the cultural and ethnic make-up of the American people and supporting the fundamental doctrine of American life that all human beings share a common quality of humanity.

Kirk, R. A. "Jefferson and the Faithless." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XL, 220-227 (July, 1941).

A reply to "Our Writers and the Democratic Myth," in which Horace Gregory in 1932 expressed the belief that the individualistic democracy of which Thomas Jefferson dreamed is doomed, and offered as proof the declining popularity of Mencken, Lindsay, Masters, and Sandburg, the literary champions of Jeffersonian democracy.

Luxon, Norval Neil. "Niles' Weekly Register—Nineteenth Century News-Magazine." *Journalism Quar.*, XVIII, 273-291 (Sept., 1941).

24-3-62

An account of its nature and contents, September 7, 1811-September 28, 1849. From 1811 to 1833 it attempted to influence public opinion; from 1833 to 1849 it merely reflected public opinion.

McCullers, Carson. "The Russian Realists and Southern Literature." *Decision*, II, No. 1, pp. 15-18 (July, 1941).

"Modern Southern literature seems . . . to be most indebted to Russian literature."

McKay, George L. "A Register of Artists, Booksellers, Printers, and Publishers in New York City, 1781-1800. Part II." *Bul. of the N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LXV, 483-499 (June, 1941).

Orians, G. Harrison. "The Origin of the Ring Tournament in the United States." *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI, 263-277 (Sept., 1941).

Scott was only one of a number of influences on the introduction and development of the Ring Tournament in the United States.

Quinn, Kirker, *et al.* (comps.). "American Poetry: 1930-1940: A Record of Poetry Publication in the United States during the Last Decade." *Accent*, I, 213-228 (Summer, 1941).

Intended for "a convenient guide to notable books of poetry and about poetry."

Spencer, Benjamin T. "The New Realism and a National Literature." *PMLA*, LVI, 1116-1132 (Dec., 1941).

The claim of the realists of the seventies and eighties that they "had found the method for achieving a national literature" was refuted by Julian Hawthorne, E. C. Stedman, Maurice Thompson, and others.

Stewart, Randall. "Regional Characteristics in the Literature of New England." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 129-143 (Nov., 1941).

Among the characteristics discernible in New England writers before 1880 are the tradition of learning among the men of letters; the orderly and restrained character of their writing; the consistent and pervasively religious tone of the region's literature; and its indigenuous quality.

Stovall, Floyd. "What Price American Literature?" *Sewanee Rev.*, XLIX, 469-475 (Oct.-Dec., 1941).

Those who teach American literature must be better trained and must learn to combine criticism and interpretation with the purely scholarly research for fact.

Wilson, Edmund. "Literary Criticism and History." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXVIII, 610-617 (Nov., 1941).

A discussion of "the interpretation of literature in its social, economic, and political aspects."

Wyatt, Edward A. "Three Petersburg Theatres." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XXI, 83-110 (Apr., 1941).

Traces the histories of Petersburg, Virginia, theaters, 1752-1864.